THE

# PRESENT STATE

OF THE

# EMPIRE OF MOROCCO.

ITS

ANIMALS, PRODUCTS, CLIMATE, SOIL, CITIES, PORTS, PROVINCES, COINS, WEIGHTS, AND MEASURES. WITH THE LANGUAGE, RELIGION, LAWS, MANNERS, CUSTOMS, AND CHARACTER,

OF THE

MOORS;

THE HISTORY OF THE

DYNASTIES SINCE EDRIS;

THE NAVAL FORCE AND COMMERCE OF MOROCCO; AND THE CHARACTER, CONDUCT, AND VIEWS, POLITICAL AND COMMERCIAL,

OF THE

REIGNING EMPEROR.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH OF

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THE

# PRESENT STATE

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# EMPIRE OF MOROCCO.

## BOOK III.

Hiſtory of the Sovereigns of Fez, Morocco, Suz, and other States—Different Dynaſties from the foundation of the kingdom of Fez, to the ſucceſſion of the Sharifs of the reigning family.

## CHAP. I.

*Decline of the Empire of the Caliphs. Acceſſion, and reign of Edris. Expulſion and deſtruction of his family. Various uſurpers.*

AFTER the Arabs had poſſeſſed themſelves of Mauritania, and had introduced their religion there, it was for ſome time

governed by the lieutenants of the Caliphs. The diſtance of the ſeat of government of theſe Caliphs, who, extending their conqueſts, had ſucceſſively removed their throne from Medina to Damaſcus, from Damaſcus to Cufa, and from Cufa to Bagdad, ſoon changed the order of things, and inſenſibly enfeebled their authority. The Arab generals in Africa profited by theſe circumſtances in favour of their ambitious projects, excited commotions toward the end of the eighth century, and aſpired themſelves at ſovereignty. The deſcendants of Mahomet, called, as it were, to the throne by the veneration in which they were held by the vulgar, raiſed new factions; the Edriſſites, who took their name from Edris, ſon of Abdallah, deſcendant of Ali, huſband to the daughter of Mahomet, were the firſt. From Herbelot it appears that their dynaſty was exterminated by the Fatimites, who pretended they were the deſcendants of Ali and Fatima, the daughter of Mahomet; this latter dynaſty, the founder of which took the name of Mohadi, director of the faithful, had ſome ſucceſs in Egypt; but its

its duration in Mauritania, which was exposed to numerous revolutions, was only momentary. This part of Africa was afterward governed by four principal dynasties, the Morabethoon, the Moahedins, the Benimerins, and the Sharifs of two different branches.

Africa, remaining in the power of the Arabs from the beginning of the eighth century, was governed by the lieutenants of the Caliph Walid, and his successors, till the year 739, of the Christian æra. Yezid, lieutenant of the Caliph Omar II., who then governed, being deceased at Cayroan, Abul-Hages, who had been lieutenant of the Caliph Abdelmelek, took advantage of his death to raise an insurrection, and, at the head of the insurgents, reduced the country, proceeded as far as the north of Mauritania, and, defying every effort of Gualid, established himself as the commander of the faithful. It is probable Gualid was the chief of the principal tribe that then inhabited the province of Rif in the lesser Atlas, where still is found the Castle of Beni-Gualid. This Shaik, whom

his tribe conſidered as King, oppoſed with all his power the invaſion of foreigners, in a country which has ever been ſtrongly defended by nature.

We learn, from the Spaniſh authors, that the oppreſſions of the Arabs in the north of Mauritania, and the contributions they exacted from the Moors, gave birth to many revolts, in which the negroes, who inhabited the deſerts to the ſouth of Morocco, took part. The Caliph, informed of theſe commotions, ſent a conſiderable reinforcement of cavalry, which produced not the leaſt effect; the Arabs and their horſes having been terrified by that multitude of black men, who, riding almoſt naked, had an appearance of great ferocity, and inſpired dread.

The example of theſe ſeditions had a bad effect in Spain, where the Arabs and Moors were equally divided and agitated. Abul-Hages having been ſlain in the inſurrections of Africa, his ſon put himſelf at the head of the weſtern Africans; nor was the revolt appeaſed till the ſon alſo

fell in battle, combating the army of the governor of Egypt.

At the same period the Caliph Abdallah, competitor of the Caliph Abdelmelek, who had rendered himself master of the Hegias, desirous of ascertaining the Caliphet to his son Mahomet Mahadi, put to death all the kinsmen of Ali at Medina, forgetting only one old man, the descendant of Hassan, son of Ali, son in law of Mahomet, whose posterity a special providence seemed to protect. One of the sons of this old man was beheaded; the other, named Edris, had the good fortune to escape, and fled in 768 into Mauritania, there to avoid the persecuting sword. Edris settled at Tiulit, in the mountain of Zaaron, between Fez and Mequinez, where he behaved with so much prudence that he gained the confidence of the people, who, highly respecting his virtues, were desirous to live under his government, and embrace his religion, The arrival of this Edris, his exemplary conduct, and the lessons he gave, first scattered the seeds of Mahometanism in these countries, where that reli-

gion, having great analogy with the manners of the Moors, was well calculated to make a rapid progreſs.

Edris, profiting by his aſcendant over the minds of men, ſent troops into Spain to ſuccour the Mahometans; and this zeal for the propagation of his religion ſtill increaſed the affection of the Moors. Edris dying left a poſthumous ſon, who was alſo named Edris, and whom, out of reſpect for the father's memory, the people acknowledged as Sovereign: it even appears that, during the minority of this prince, the Mooriſh armies gained ſome victories.

In 793 Edris II. founded the city of Fez, capital of the kingdom ſo called. This was the firſt monarchy eſtabliſhed in Africa after Mahomet; and the Mahometans long called it the court, or kingdom of the weſt. Edris intereſted himſelf much in favour of the Arab Moors in Spain; and having profited by the war, and by the œconomy he had eſtabliſhed, he continued building the city of Fez in

840,

840, and erected the mosque called after his name, in which his memory and his tomb are still held in reverence.

The ardour with which this prince inspired the Mahometan Africans induced them to build in the same city the famous mosque called Carubin, for which the city was indebted, perhaps, to the devotion and liberalities of the people of Cayroan, who, having retired to Fez that they might not be exposed to the commotions which then disturbed the eastern part of Africa, may have contributed to the foundation of that magnificent mosque.

We are not acquainted with the race of the kings of Mauritania, the descendants of Sidi-Edris, but we know that family continued to reign, and that Edris bestowed the government of cities on ten of his sons. From Marmol we learn that the house of Edris and the house of Mequineci reigned in Mauritania in 914, and that Mahomet Motaras, Lord of Ceuta, passed over into Spain, with troops, at the solicitation of Abdelrahaman, king of Cordova.

He afterwards ſent new reinforcements from Mauritania into Spain in 920 and 925.

The diviſions which were in the kingdom of Fez, during the tenth century, were but the preſage of thoſe by which that empire has ſo long been convulſed; and the family of Edris, that had reigned about a hundred and fifty years, was diſturbed by a croud of uſurpers. The tribe of Zenetes, called Mequineci, ſeized about that time on ſeveral provinces, and founded the city of Mequinez, nearly ten leagues from Fez. A Marabout of that tribe, profiting about the ſame time by the fluctuating ſtate and credulity of the people, ſeduced their minds by fanatic predictions, and brought much diſcredit on the ſucceſſors of Edris. Having formed a conſiderable party in the province of Temſena, he marched againſt the king of Fez, declared war againſt him; and the latter, wearied of that he ſuſtained againſt the Zenetes, rather choſe to conclude a peace, and yield him the crown, than to behold

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an increaſe of enemies, or expoſe himſelf to the fickleneſs of his ſubjects.

The progreſs theſe miſſionaries made in Mauritania, among an ignorant people flocking after innovators, raiſed up one who proclaimed himſelf El-Mohadi, the director, or pontif, of the Muſſulmen, a deſcendant of Ali and Fatima, and whoſe origin, according to Herbelot, was doubtful: this man declaimed againſt the houſe of Edris, which he accuſed of hereſy, and of following the ſect of Ali, a ſectary unknown to the Moors. Having made himſelf maſter of various cities, he depoſed the ſons of Edris from their governments before the ſuccours they had intreated from the king of Cordova were arrived. El-Mohadi cut off the deſcendants of Edris, after having ſeized on their governments *, declared himſelf Caliph, and marched toward Mount Atlas to extend his domains.

* One of theſe princes, named Sharif El-Edriſſi, author of the work, entitled *Geographia Nubienſis*, fled at this time into Sicily to the court of King Roger, to whom he dedicated his book.

Arrived

Arrived at Sugulmeſſa, the governor had him ſeized as an impoſtor; but, fearing to irritate the people, and reſpecting his origin, he calling himſelf the deſcendant of Fatima, the daughter of Mahomet, the governor gave him his liberty.

El-Mohadi was in the ſouth, when one of the generals of the king of Cordova arrived with an army to aid the houſe of Edris: this general, named Al-Habid El-Monſor, conquered a part of the kingdom of Fez, fortified Arzilla near Tangiers, left a garriſon there, and that city for ſome time remained under the government of the kings of Cordova.

By this revolution El-Mohadi could not preſerve the kingdom of Fez to himſelf. This prince going to viſit the governor of Sugulmeſſa, that he might gratify the reſentment he had conceived againſt him, aſſaſſinated him, excited new troubles, and thus became odious to the people who had followed his ſtandard. The uſurper, whoſe reign was momentary in Mauritania, was obliged to paſs into the eaſtern

part

part of Africa, where he met with new obſtacles from another bigot, who, in turn, had brought him into diſcredit, in the opinion of the people whom he had deceived by an affectation of humility. This latter chief was, in deriſion, called the Knight of the Aſs, becauſe one part of his pretended humbleneſs conſiſted in always riding on an aſs, with his face covered like the Molathemins. Molathemins is a name given in Africa to a tribe who, going to battle with another more powerful, obliged the women to take arms; and, that they might not be diſtinguiſhed, the men, like them, artfully veiled their faces.

All Africa at this time was torn by diviſions, on a tradition that, three hundred years after Mahomet, another director of the faithful, or Mohadi, ſhould come from the weſt; and various impoſtors profiting by this tradition impoſed on the vulgar credulity, that they might ſeize the government. Obeidallah, founder of the dynaſty of the Fatimites, left Sugulmeſſa, and, penetrating as far as Egypt, he there vanquiſhed the troops of the Caliph. The

wars he ſuſtained in Egypt, Syria, and the eaſtern parts of Africa, changed the ſituation of affairs in the weſt, where a ſucceſſion of innovators, profiting by theſe diviſions to the furtherance of their projects, reciprocally ſnatched the ſceptre from the power of their predeceſſors.

CHAP.

## CHAP. II.

### *Of the Dynasty of Morabethoon.*

ABU-Teſſifin Marabout, nephew of Abu-Beker Ben-Omar, of the tribe of Lumthunes *, and chief of the Morabethoon, profited by the commotions which had drawn the arms of the Arabs toward Egypt to produce an inſurrection; he ſent Marabouts to preach, and excite the people to revolt, under the pretext of defending their liberties. The Moors, weary of the arbitrary government of theſe Arab foreigners, willingly followed the ſtandard of

* The country which the Marabouts inhabited, lying between Mount Atlas and the deſert, was called Lamtha; whence the tribe had the name of Lamthoonah, or Lumthunes.

*Herbelot. Bib. Orien.*

Teſſifin,

Teffifin, who prefently found himfelf at the head of a numerous army.

The tribe of this chief was furnamed Morabethoon, becaufe of the rigidity with which religion was by them obferved; the word Marabout fignifying a monk, or a man engaged to the performance of his vow. This tribe firft took birth in the neighbourhood of Tunis, but was obliged to leave that country for the weftern part of Africa, that it might efcape the perfecution of fects more voluptuous, whofe intereft it was to extirpate this rifing tribe.

Abu-Teffifin, at the head of his followers, traverfed Mount Atlas in 1051, and conquered the city of Agmet and its environs; here he fixed his refidence, at the foot of Mount Atlas, extended thence his conquefts northward, and proclaimed himfelf Emir El-Mumenin, or chief of the faithful. He is one of the firft fovereigns known of the race of Morabethoon, or more commonly called Morabites; his armies were conftantly victorious, and, after various battles,

battles, he remained ſovereign of Mauritania.

Abu-Teſſifin died in 1086, and was ſucceeded by his ſon Joſeph, whoſe ſubjects proclaimed him King *. This prince not being pleaſed with the ſituation of the city of Agmet, at the foot of the mountains, built or finiſhed that of Marakeſch, or Morocco, which had been begun by his father, and there eſtabliſhed his ſeat of empire.

During his reign the province of Temſena afforded an aſylum to a multitude of Zenetes, who preached new errors. Joſeph was very induſtrious to prevent theſe innovations among his ſubjects, and ſent them Morabite preachers to reconvert them to their former religion; but the people, fond of novelty, were ſo far from liſtening to the remonſtrances of the reformers,

* The Arab authors of Spain call this prince Abul-Iſa Ibrahim-Ben-Joſeph-Ben-Teſſifin. It was the cuſtom of theſe people to call their children by the names of their anceſtors,

whom

whom Joſeph had ſent them, that they put them to death at Anafai, where they were aſſembled.

Irritated by a conduct ſo inſolent, Joſeph paſſed the Morbeya with a powerful army. At the news of his march the Zenetes, with their chief, thought proper to retreat, and proceeded toward Fez, where they demanded aid of the king; but this prince, inſtead of granting ſuccour to theſe public diſturbers, went in ſearch of them with his forces, and, having come up with them on the banks of the Buregreb, where they were harraſſed with famine and fatigue, he fell upon them, and cut them in pieces.

Joſeph, after having ravaged the lands of Temſena, and deſtroyed all its habitations, returned victorious to Morocco. Ambitious and deſirous of extending his power, he ſome time after marched with his army and made war on the king of Fez, whom he vanquiſhed; taking advantage of the inconſtancy of the people, he ſeized on his kingdom, which was thus, for the firſt time, united to that of Morocco.

Encou-

Encouraged by the ſucceſs of his arms, Joſeph advanced as far as Tremecen, thence he proceeded to Bugia, and having obliged the Moors of that part of Africa, and even thoſe of Tunis, to become his vaſſals, he once more returned triumphant to Morocco, where he was again proclaimed, with this increaſe of power, commander of the faithful. He afterward made war upon the Brebes, who had retired among the mountains, and over whom he gained ſeveral advantages.

The victories of Joſeph Ben-Teſſifin had acquired him reputation ſo great that, in 1097, the Mahometan kings of Spain ſought his alliance, and even offered him the ſupreme ſovereignty, hoping, by his aſſiſtance, they ſhould be enabled once more to eſtabliſh and extend their empire. On this invitation Joſeph paſſed over into Andaluſia, and, joining his forces to thoſe of the Mahometans of Spain, conquered the city of Seville and its environs; whence, after projecting further victories, he returned into Africa to make the neceſſary preparations.

In Africa, Joſeph proclaimed the Gazia, or war, of religion. Having aſſembled numerous troops, drawn together by fanaticiſm, and the hope of plunder, he marched, embarked at Ceuta, and proceeded to Malaga. This campaign, and thoſe which followed, were highly glorious to the king of Morocco, ſince, in 1102, he was maſter of all Andaluſia, Grenada, and Murcia, and in the ſame year returned into Africa loaded with laurels.

The following years this prince again paſſed over into Spain to continue his conqueſts, penetrated as far as Cordova, and gained ſeveral battles, particularly that fought on the twenty-ninth of May, 1107, againſt the army of Don Alphonſo VI. whoſe ſon, Don Sancho, the commander, with ſix other of the firſt nobility, loſt their lives. This is the battle which the Spaniards have called the battle of the ſeven Counts. After this victory Joſeph returned to Morocco, where he died, in 1110, and was ſucceeded by his ſon Ali.

Ali, the ſon of Joſeph, third king of Morocco, of the race of Morabethoon, built the grand moſque at Morocco, continued to ſuccour the Mahometans of Spain; and made his power reſpected there by the armies which he perſonally headed, between the years 1112 and 1115. Some authors ſay he was killed at the battle of Moriella, where his army was attacked by that of king Alphonſo; that his ſon, Teſſiſin-Ben-Ali, continued in Spain with ſome troops, and that the remainder were tranſported into Africa.

Brahem, the ſon of Ali, and the laſt king of Morocco, of the ſame dynaſty, who was proclaimed after the death of his father, confirmed the princes who governed the oriental provinces dependent on him in their poſſeſſions, and was declared commander of the faithful. Africa, under the reign of this prince, was torn by inteſtine diviſions, which were fatal to the dynaſty of the Morabites, and which did not permit Brahem to go himſelf into Spain, nor to maintain that ſovereignty there which the Arab Moors had offered to his anceſ-

tors, and which they had so well deserved by their valour.

The governors of the principal places of Andalusia profited by this momentary weakness to erect the cities and provinces, over which they presided, into small principalities: the king of Morocco was at this time too much employed in opposing the insurgents of his own states to prevent these their usurpations. Brahem was beside an indolent prince, and addicted to pleasure; to the gratification of which he sacrificed affairs the most important. His subjects, at length, loaded with taxes, and oppressed, refused to acknowledge him as their master.

The relaxed state of the government, and the discontent of the people, favoured a revolt, which was at this time incited toward Mount Atlas by another innovator, who, assuming the imposing title of Mohadi, director of the faithful, entered Mauritania, and drew the people to his party, who were easy to seduce, by projects of reformation.

This

This preacher, whose name was Mahomet Abdallah, calling himself a descendant of Ali, met, according to Herbelot, near Melilla, another doctor, named Abdulmomen, who said he was the Mohadi, or prophet, expected at the end of ages. These two men, united, approaching Morocco, preached there publicly, drew over proselytes to their belief, and Abdallah was acknowledged king.

Brahem, absorbed in pleasure, had despised this revolution, but was at length obliged to head his army, and give the Reformer battle, who was now become strong in consequence of discontent and enthusiasm. Brahem was defeated, and forced to fly. Pursued from one place of refuge to another, he at length came to Oran, where the Moors, not daring to expose themselves to the resentment of Abdulmomen, who was following to take Brahem, refused him an asylum. Brahem, seeing himself thus hunted, unable to survive his grief, threw himself, according to some historians, headlong from a rock; others affirm he perished in a castle, which

was fired by Abdulmomen, and the death of this prince ended the dynasty of Morabethoon.

Abdulmomen, general of Abdallah, having subjected all the provinces of Mauritania to the power of his master, during this expedition, and bearing with him hostages to insure their submission, returned to Morocco. Here he found Mahomet Abdallah dead in his camp. The chiefs, being assembled, acknowledged Abdulmomen, who also affirmed himself one of the descendants of Mahomet and Ali, their sovereign, and commander of the faithful.

## CHAP. III.

### *Dynasty of the Moahedins.*

ABDULMOMEN * was the first king of the race of the Moahedins, whom the Spaniards have called Almohades; he was chosen king of Morocco in 1148: after his election he destroyed the city of Morocco, into which the inhabitants refused him entrance, and which they would have preserved for Isac son of Brahem. Abdulmomen was so enraged at this that he made a vow the city should pass through a sieve.

After carrying Morocco by assault, he, with his own hands, strangled the young

* Herbelot calls him Mohamet Abdulmomen Ben-Tomrut; according to Marmol, his name was Abulmomen Ben-Abdallah Ben-Ali.

Isac, son of Brahem, who had there been acknowledged king, and who was the last of the house of Tessifin, the founders of Morocco, as well as of the empire. Abdulmomen, that he might perform his vow, reduced a part of that capital to dust, and passed its ashes through a sieve; and that he might leave no vestige of the grandeur of its kings, and bury their name in oblivion, he destroyed their palaces and mosques.

This prince afterward rebuilt the city, and gave orders that all the Morabethoon found throughout his empire should be put to death, that he might have nothing to fear from their vengeance. The animosity that was maintained, between these two sects, occasioned a succession of revolutions in Africa, while they mutually enfeebled each other, and gave the eastern provinces the power of shaking off the yoke of the kings of Morocco, and electing independent chiefs for themselves.

Abdulmomen, however, remained master of all Mauritania, and preserved the

two

two kingdoms of Fez and Morocco, which had been united under Joſeph Teſſifin. He was alſo able, in 1149, to ſend aid to the Mahometans of Spain, and to permit them to recruit among the mountains of Gomera, between Tetuan and Tremecen. In 1151, the power of this prince being ſtill more firmly eſtabliſhed, the Mahometans of Grenada and of Jaen, who ſtood in need of his ſupport, offered him homage and ſubmiſſion; he accordingly ſent thirty thouſand men to their ſuccour.

This army having been vanquiſhed, Abdulmomen ſent more conſiderable reinforcements, by which the Mahometans of Spain were empowered to prolong the war with ſome ſucceſs. This prince had an intention of going himſelf into Spain with a mighty army, but he died in 1155 during theſe his preparations. The caſtle of Bulahuan, in the province of Duquella, is ſaid to have been built by Abdulmomen; it has ſince been augmented and embelliſhed by a Sharif of the reigning family.

After the death of Abdulmomen, his ſon Joſeph was unanimouſly acknowledged king of Morocco. Joſeph, out of deference to the memory of his father, and alſo to merit the love of his ſubjects, teſtified his averſion to the Chriſtians, and paſſed over into Spain, in 1158, with a powerful army. On his arrival, the Mahometan kings of Andaluſia, as well from reſpect to his power, as to acknowledge the ſervices they received, ſwore fidelity to him, and proclaimed him ſovereign. The kings of Murcia and Valencia, who were more diſtant, were the ſole who did not think proper to ſubmit. Having united his army with that of the Arab Moors in Spain, Joſeph ſeized on ſome places in deſpite of the efforts of Don Sancho III. The nobility who commanded the army of the latter, conſulting their valour only, followed Joſeph to Seville, and gained a victory over him under the walls of that city. Profiting by the diviſions of the Spaniards, Joſeph, the next campaign, obliged the kings of Valencia and Murcia to become his vaſſals.

Joſeph

Joſeph remained at Seville till the year 1168 employed in making incurſions upon the territories of the Chriſtians, or in repelling thoſe which the Chriſtians made on his domains. Receiving information at this time that ſome tribes of the Zenetes had taken advantage of his abſence to raiſe commotions in his African ſtates, he returned thither; and, after having quelled the inſurgents, again came to Spain in 1171 with a powerful army.

Joſeph now obliged all the Mahometan kings to acknowledge him ſovereign, nor was there one who did not pay him homage: he continued to keep up his armies in Spain, where his ſon long commanded during his abſence; he once more returned thither in 1184, and took the city of Sanctaren by aſſault. He was attacked before this place by the armies of the kings of Portugal and Leon, and, falling from his horſe, was killed by the accident; this occaſioned the loſs of the battle, and moſt of the Moors who compoſed his army returned into Africa.

No ſooner was the death of Joſeph known in Africa than ſeveral diviſions aroſe among the Moors; but Abu-Jacob, his ſon, ſurnamed Almonſor, the invincible, and who had already diſtinguiſhed himſelf at the head of armies, having taken upon him the government of the empire, ſubdued theſe commotions, and was proclaimed Emperor.

The kings of Tunis and Tremecen, who had been feudatory dependents on his anceſtors, and who were deſirous to ſhake off this dependency, endeavoured to incite rebellion among the diſtant tribes that they might embarraſs Jacob. This prince marched with his forces, and, after having reſtored tranquillity, he tranſported thoſe tribes, among whom commotions had been incited, to the centre of his empire, and diſperſed them, through the different provinces of his ſtates, ſo diſtant from each other that they might be unable to reunite. This is a political ſyſtem which all the kings of Morocco have obſerved with reſpect to powerful tribes; and, thus divided, by the prudence or caprice of the ſovereigns,

reigns, theſe tribes have inſenſibly loſt all memory of their origin.

The conduct, courage, and activity, of Jacob, ſoon eſtabliſhed his ſupremacy over the African coaſts as far as Tunis, and at the ſame time preſerved that which had been acquired over the Arab Moors of Spain. Of all the ſovereigns who have reigned in Africa after the Caliphs, he was, beyond diſpute, the moſt powerful; thence happened it that he acquired the ſurname of Almonſor, the invincible, to which might likewiſe be added the magnificent.

Almonſor built the caſtle of Manſooria, at the entrance of the province of Temſena, eight leagues from Sallee, of which ſome ruins ſtill remain; the city of Alcaſſar-Quiber, three leagues from Laracha; that of Alcaſſar-Seguar, ſituated on the ſtraits of Gibraltar, between Tangiers and Ceuta; and the city of Rabat, facing Sallee. After erecting a caſtle toward the ſea for the defence of this laſt place, he built in a vaſt encloſure, ruins of which ſtill exiſt, magnificent palaces, that

 time,

time, inſurrections, and the caprices of men, have laid waſte. During ſummer this prince reſided in that beautiful cincture called Guadel, where taſte and ſplendor were alike diſplayed. He alſo employed Rabat as a place of arms, whence he might with facility invade Spain with his forces.

After adding the ſurname of invincible to that of commander of the faithful, Jacob Almonſor paſſed over into Spain with a powerful army; but the fickleneſs of the Moors being incited by his abſence throughout the vaſt ſtates he poſſeſſed in Africa, he was obliged to return without performing any memorable act. Marmol ſays, he left a part of his army under the command of Don Ferdinand Ruis de Caſtro, lieutenant general, who, although a Chriſtian, had entered into his ſervice from motives of diſcontent.

No ſooner had Jacob Almonſor again reduced his ſubjects to ſubordination than he publiſhed the Gazia, or war againſt the infidels, ſimilar to the cruſades of

of the Chriſtians; the Moors flocked in multitudes to his ſtandard, and he embarked for Spain with a powerful army, where, being landed, he marched toward Toledo. Alphonſo III. coming to oppoſe him was not terrified by the numbers of the Moors, but moſt valorouſly attacked the army of Jacob, which defended itſelf with intrepidity, and which gained a complete victory over the Chriſtians, in ſight of the town of Alarcos, July the eighteenth, 1195. This victorious army had a continuation of ſucceſs till the year 1197, when Almonſor, having ſigned a truce with the king of Caſtile, returned into Africa, where new commotions rendered his preſence neceſſary.

The governor of Morocco, profiting by the abſence of Jacob Almonſor to incite the neighbouring people to revolt, the latter, on his return, found them all in arms. The intimidated rebels, not daring to wait this valiant prince in the open field, ſhut themſelves up in that capital, which he was obliged to beſiege. Almonſor, having paſſed a tedious year under the walls of the place,

place, determined to ſcale the city; and, animatedly addreſſing his ſoldiers, ſhewed them t at, independent of the glory they would acquire in taking Morocco, there was ſtill a more legitimate and more honourable motive, that of recovering their wives and children, who were then in the power of the uſurpers.

Enflamed by his diſcourſe, the beſiegers aſſaulted the city, which was unable to reſiſt their impetuoſity; and, falling furiouſly upon the inhabitants, put all to death they met. Almonſor, that he might chaſtiſe the rebels, even after their death, refuſed them the rites of burial *; and, when he was reminded of the effects which might reſult from putrefaction, ſaid, "Nothing ſmells ſo well as the body "of a dead enemy, and eſpecially of a "traitor."

* The Moors believe that the ſouls of bodies, deprived of the rites of burial, are driven from the abodes of the bleſſed. In fabulous ages it was further believed that the ſouls of ſuch bodies wandered on the banks of Cocytus, and were refuſed admittance into the Eliſian fields

After

After Almonſor had taken Morocco, the governor, having ſhut himſelf up in the caſtle with ſome ſoldiers, mediated his peace by the good offices of a Marabout, whoſe ſanctity was held in veneration; but Almonſor, although he had granted this man pardon, put him to death the moment he had him in his power, and, by the violation of his promiſe, tarniſhed his glory. The Marabout reproached him with his ill faith. I am not, anſwered the prince, obliged to keep my word with thoſe who have forfeited theirs.

According to the Arab hiſtorians, the ſovereign, full of regret for not having obſerved his promiſe, diſappeared, and wandered over the world. The probability is that this prince performed the pilgrimage to Mecca, as a private perſon, in expiation of his crime. His brother, Brahem, governed during his abſence; but, he not returning in the ſpace of a year, his ſon, Mahomet Ben-Naſſer, called alſo Naſſer-Al-Melek Ben-Manſoor, was proclaimed king by the people.

Mahomet Ben-Naſſer, having ſucceeded his father in 1210, confirmed the princes of Africa in the poſſeſſion of their ſtates, and broke the truce which Almonſor had concluded with Alphonſo of Caſtile. This prince being deſirous of extending his conqueſts in Spain, went thither with a powerful army, conquered ſome towns, ravaged their territories, and returned to repoſe under the walls of Cordova. Thither Alphonſo, having received conſiderable reinforcements from the Chriſtian princes, marched to give the king of Morocco battle. The two armies met on the ſixteenth of July, 1212, in the plains of Toloſo, and the Moors ſuffered a total rout. This defeat, beſide humbling the Mahometans, infinitely decreaſed that conſideration in which Mahomet Ben-Naſſer had been held.

After this action Mahomet returned to Africa, and left the command of his army to his brother Aben Saad, living himſelf in a kind of retirement; and, deſpiſed by his ſubjects, who, prejudiced as they were, attributed

tributed the loſs of the battle to his ill conduct and cowardice.

Preyed upon by chagrin, Mahomet Ben-Naſſer died a ſhort time after, and left his empire to Said Barrax, one of his grandſons, againſt whom the governors of the eaſtern provinces of Tremecen and Tunis revolted. Said raiſed an army in ſupport of his authority, but, having been aſſaſſinated by a traitor, the ſpirit of diſcord renewed its progreſs.

After the death of Said, the principal perſons of the Moahedins elected his uncle, Abdel Cader, in his ſtead; but, this prince not having gained the confidence of the people, and finding that, in theſe times of trouble, his party was not ſufficiently powerful, he fled toward Morocco, and the governors of the principal places profited by this momentary weakneſs to divide the empire.

## CHAP. IV.

### *Dynaſty of the Benimerins.*

ABDALLAH, governor of Fez, of the race of the Benimerins, was the firſt of that dynaſty who poſſeſſed himſelf of the ſovereign authority. Jacob, his brother, having aſſembled troops, took the cities of Rabat and Anafa, and defeated an army of Moahedins between Fez and Mequinez; his ſucceſſes awed the people, and ſupported the authority of his family in that part of Africa.

After the death of Abdallah, who, from governor of Fez, had become the ſovereign, his ſon, ſtill young, was his ſucceſſor, under the regency of Ben-Joſeph, his uncle; who alſo, in his turn, was ſovereign, his nephew being firſt dead.

Similar

Similar revolutions took place at the ſame time in the provinces of Morocco: that of Tedla, with thoſe of the mountains in its neighbourhood, headed by Mahomet-Budobus, joined with the king of Fez, to aid him againſt Abdel Cader, of the race of the Moahedins. Abdel Cader, informed of this treaty, eſcaped from Morocco at the approach of the rebels; but, having been overtaken in his flight, he was murdered at Sugulmeſſa.

Budobus, now become maſter of thoſe provinces that lay near the capital, thought proper to renounce the alliance he had made with Ben-Joſeph, and further declared war againſt him, in expectation of conquering the kingdom of Fez. A quick termination was put to this war by the death of Budobus, and the defeat of his army. Ben-Joſeph not only preſerved the kingdom of Fez but alſo conquered that of Morocco; and, by this revolution, the Moahedins were wholly deprived of ſovereign power.

The kingdom of Morocco, by this change of its monarchs, which long held the minds of the people in ſuſpence, loſt the ſovereignty of Spain. Thoſe who governed the provinces of Seville, Cordova, Jaen, and others, in the abſence of the king of Morocco, erected themſelves into ſovereign princes; and, ſeconded by the African troops, that had remained in Andaluſia, were thus enabled to maintain thoſe diviſions, and that diverſity of opinions and intereſts, which were inceſſantly renewed.

Ben-Joſeph, now maſter of Mauritania, eſtabliſhed his authority there the more ſolidly by not occupying himſelf with foreign conqueſts, or government. The affairs of Spain felt ſome relaxation by the truces which were renewed between Caſtile and the Mahometan kings, till the acceſſion of Don Ferdinand, to the throne of Caſtile. War again broke out in 1240, with an obſtinate zeal, and the Mahometans loſt, almoſt in an inſtant, the kingdoms of Cordova and Seville, and the greateſt part of Andaluſia.

The kings of Grenada and Murcia then called loudly for aſſiſtance of Ben-Joſeph, ſovereign of Fez and Morocco. Alphonſo X., the ſucceſſor of Ferdinand, ſent a fleet, by way of diverſion, to beſiege Sallee in 1261, and the place was taken, but was afterward abandoned on the approach of the king of Fez.

Don Alphonſo being ſolely occupied by his political intereſts in Europe, the king of Grenada took advantage of the truce to make a new alliance with the king of Morocco, to whom he even offered the ſovereignty of his ſtates with the towns of Tariffa and Algeſira, as a ſecurity that he would perform his promiſe, and alſo as places for the debarkment of the troops.

Thus invited, Ben-Joſeph took ſhipping for Spain in 1275, with his army, poſſeſſed himſelf of the two above-named places, committed ravages in the territories of Andaluſia, and then returned into Africa. He ſent his brother, Ottman, the next year with troops, who again brought new havoc. Ben-Joſeph returned himſelf

the following campaign, and his army, united to that of Grenada, gained very decided advantages over that of the Christians. After vanquishing the Castilian fleet, Ben-Joseph raised the siege of Algesira in 1278, and rebuilt that town in the place where it at present stands. This prince afterward made a truce with Don Alphonso, and generously granted him aid against his son, Don Sancho, who, with the consent of the people, had seized on the sovereign authority.

After the death of Ben-Joseph he was succeeded by his son Abu-Said, who, like his father, made several expeditions into Spain; all of which were unsuccessful. Having lost Tariffa, which had been taken by Don Sancho III., he made fruitless efforts to recover that place; but, perceiving that his attempts to regain the sovereignty of Spain exhausted his revenues, he renounced them in future, and in 1294 restored the town of Algesira to the king of Grenada. The empire of Morocco was, during a time, delivered from wars and revolutions. Abu-Said, occupied solely by the

the adminiſtration of his African ſtates, reigned in tranquillity to the year 1303. At his death he was ſucceeded by Abu-Artab-Ben-Said; but neither did he take any part whatever in the Mahometan wars of Spain: his ſucceſſor, indeed, Joſeph-Ben-Jacob, in 1318, appears to have ſent ſuccours to the king of Grenada, who ceded ſome places to him, of which his troops took poſſeſſion.

After the death of Joſeph-Ben-Jacob, king of Fez and Morocco, his two ſons, Abul-Haſſen and Said, made war on each other for the ſucceſſion. Said, having been vanquiſhed, withdrew to the king of Grenada, and his brother, Abul-Haſſen, was proclaimed. The latter took offence at the aſylum given by the king of Grenada to Said, and ſhewed tokens of his reſentment; on which the king of Grenada determined to paſs over into Barbary, in 1330, that he might come to an explanation with this prince.

This voyage had the moſt fortunate ſucceſs, for the king of Grenada, after having removed

removed all the ſuſpicions of Abul-Haſſen, obtained from him a conſiderable body of troops, commanded by his ſon Abdelmelek, who went in 1333, landed at Algeſira, took poſſeſſion of that place, and was there acknowledged ſovereign. This army, protected by a fleet, afterward ſeized on Gibraltar, which the Spaniards, in vain, attempted to retake.

The war, which ſome years after broke out between the king of Tremecen and Abul-Haſſen, obliged the latter to recall his his ſon Abdelmelek, with his troops. To theſe were likewiſe added a detachment, ſent by the king of Grenada, who had made a truce with Caſtile. This war was unfortunate to the king of Tremecen, who, with his kingdom, loſt all he poſſeſſed toward Sugulmeſſa. The king of Fez, profiting by his victory, purſued his conqueſts as far as Algiers and Tunis, which he again brought under the ſubjection of the kings of Fez and Morocco.

Inflated with ſucceſs, Abul-Haſſen reſolved to recommence the Mooriſh expeditions

ditions into Spain, hoping there to recover the dominion his predeceſſors had enjoyed; for this purpoſe he ſent troops, ſtores, arms, and ammunition, under the conduct of his ſon Abdelmelek. Abdelmelek committed many ravages on the territories of Andaluſia, but the Chriſtians were able to repulſe his attacks; and, after ſeveral campaigns, in which the advantages were nearly equal, his army was attacked and routed by the Caſtilians. Abdelmelek, having found an opportunity to fly on foot, perceiving the approach of Chriſtians, counterfeited death, and the latter coming up gave him two wounds with their lances, of which he died in reality. The body of this prince was tranſported into Barbary, and inhumed at Shella, near Rabat, where his tomb is ſtill to be ſeen.

The death of Abdelmelek afflicted the king of Fez ſo deeply that he determined to go and take perſonal vengeance on the Spaniards. For this purpoſe he fitted out more than two hundred veſſels at Ceuta, in 1340, which, in deſpite of the efforts of the king of Caſtile, being favoured by circum-

circumſtances, met no obſtacle in the ſhort paſſage from the coaſt of Africa to the coaſt of Spain. Beſide his troops, he took with him many Mooriſh families, who were to people ſome towns round Malaga. The Mooriſh fleet, being in the bay of Gibraltar, was attacked by the fleet of Caſtile, but which, being by no means ſo powerful, was totally defeated.

The kings of Fez and Grenada, at the head of a mighty army, firſt laid ſiege to Tariffa; but the kings of Caſtile and Protugal, with their combined forces, marched to the relief of that place, and attacked and defeated the Mahometan army near Rio-Salado; which afterward retreated to Algeſira. The king of Fez, fearing he ſhould be there beſieged, immediately embarked for Ceuta.

That he might revenge the Mohometan defeat at the battle of Rio-Salado, Abul-Haſſen again made great preparations of troops and ſtores to return into Spain. His fleet, united with that of his allies, was attacked in port, and he loſt about twelve

twelve veſſels; but this check did not prevent the remainder of the fleet from ſetting ſail: this, however, being once more attacked in the Strait by the combined fleet of the Chriſtians, was entirely defeated; the invaſion of the Mahometans was thus prevented, and, notwithſtanding every effort of the king of Fez and Morocco, Algeſira was taken, in March 1344, and a ten years truce concluded.

The expences which had been incurred by Abul-Haſſen to ſupport theſe his attempts in Spain, and the ill ſucceſs that followed, occaſioned his ſubjects to murmur, as is the cuſtom of nations, that judge only from appearances. Abdalharaman, one of the king's ſons, ſeized this moment of diſcontent to revolt, and drew over ſeveral tribes to his ſide. Don Alphonſo, in the mean time, broke the truce in Spain, where he attacked the Mahometans. Abul-Haſſen, although he had ſtifled the rebellion, found his own ſtates in too critical a ſituation to admit of his going in perſon to aſſiſt the Mahometans of Spain. He ſent his ſon, Abu-Ali, thither, with a body of troops, to aid

aid Gibraltar, which the king of Caſtile beſieged in 1349; the troops of Morocco, however, could effect nothing, but were obliged to repaſs the ſtrait, a rebellion having been once more raiſed by Abu-Hennon, another of the ſons of Abul-Haſſen. The king was unfortunate in this civil war, and was obliged to retire into the province of Sugulmeſſa, his ſon having ſeized on his kingdom.

Abu-Hennon was an ambitious prince, and deſirous of eſtabliſhing his fame with his ſubjects; for which purpoſe he prepared formidable armaments for the invading of Spain. His father took advantage of theſe preparations to attempt recovering his domains, and, aſſembling ſome troops round Sugulmeſſa, aſſaulted and ſubjected various cities of the kingdom of Fez. The projects of Abu-Hennon were ſuſpended by this diverſion; but, having overcome his father in 1354, near the mountains of Fez, he remained in peaceable poſſeſſion of his ſtates, and preſerved his ſupremacy over the ſmall kingdoms of the coaſt from Tremecen to Tunis. This prince

prince entered into a negotiation with Peter the cruel, who had aſcended the throne of Caſtile, and who, from political motives, was diſpoſed to favour the rebellion of Abu-Hennon. The latter, at length, in full enjoyment of peace, embelliſhed the city of Fez with ſome edifices, and built a college there, which ſtill bears his name.

Abu-Hennon died in 1409, and his ſon, Abu-Said, was his ſucceſſor. Addicted to pleaſure and debauchery, this prince occupied himſelf too little with the care of his own eſtates to think of ſuccouring the Mahometans of Spain; he even neglected to fortify, or ſend aid, to Ceuta, which was beſieged and taken in 1415 by Don John, king of Portugal; the neighbouring Moors united to recover the place, but their attempts were unſucceſsful, as well from their ignorance, in the art of beſieging towns, as from the ſkill with which they were repulſed by Don Henry, ſon to the king of Portugal.

The cities of Spain, which had been under the government of Abu-Said, ſeeing they

they were to expect no assistance whatever from him, were reunited to the Mahometan kingdom of Grenada, Gibraltar alone remaining in the possession of the king of Fez. Hither Abu-Said sent his brother Said with some troops, as well to preserve that place, and to recover others that had been lost, as to remove Said, whose valour and eminent qualities made him remarked by the people, and who soon or late might become a dangerous rival.

This expedition was unsuccessful, the king of Grenada having besieged Gibraltar, Said, in vain, demanded succours from his brother, who saw, with secret pleasure, the difficulties in which he was involved. Said notwithstanding defended himself with the utmost fortitude; but, having been conquered, he was taken prisoner to Grenada, where his brother wished he might be put to death. The king of Grenada, more politic, preserved the life of this prince, as well out of respect to his birth as in the hope of being able to make him a party in those insurrections which so often divided the Moors of Africa.

Future

Future events justified the foresight of the king of Grenada: the Moors of Fez, offended at the conduct of their sovereign, rebelled against him, and he was stabbed by his Vizier, who, at the same time, assassinated his children. The kingdom of Fez fell into the greatest disorder in consequence of the death of this prince; the people lived some time totally independant, each province and each tribe governing itself according to its will. The king of Grenada profited by this state of anarchy to send over Said into Barbary with troops, and thus to insure his friendship and alliance; but this Prince had many difficulties to encounter, having a competitor in Jacob, one of his brothers, whose standard had been followed by the principal tribes, which occasioned open war between these two princes.

The kingdom of Fez, troubled by these civil broils, remained eight years without a sovereign, when, in 1423, a son of Abu-Said appeared, named Abdallah, with whom his mother had fled to Tunis. Abdallah was received with the greater joy

becaufe that the people, divided in their choice of a prince, thought it their duty to reunite in favour of one whom Providence feemed miraculoufly to have preferved, that their calamities might find a period. The uncles of Abdallah Said and Jacob approved the nation's choice, and relinquifhed the throne.

Abdallah reigned with juftice for fome years; but, at length, he impofed fo many vexatious and tyrannical oppreffions, on his people, that they were incited to revolt. In the midft of the civil commotions which enfued, an inhabitant of Fez, who was a Sharif, and who bore the name, flew the king Abdallah, who was the laft of the family of the Benimerins, and was proclaimed in his ftead.

All the grandees attached to the Dynafty of the Benimerins rofe againft the ufurper, and an obftinate war enfued. Muley Shaik, one of the generals who was at the head of this party, and who commanded toward Arzilla, prefented himfelf before Fez to befiege the city; but, hav-

ing been vanquiſhed by the Sharif, he retired into his government. The Sharif then ſent an army into Temſena to ſubject that province; and Muley Shaik, while the Sharif was thus weakened, made a ſecond attempt upon Fez, in which he beſieged the Sharif.

Don Alphonſo, of Portugal, deſirous of profiting by the inteſtine diſtractions of the empire, appeared before Arzilla with his fleet, and took it in 1471. Muley Shaik, being informed of this, departed from the blockade of Fez to go and ſuccour Arzilla, which, as well as Tangiers, he found taken on his arrival. The Mooriſh prince then determined to make a truce with the king of Portugal, that he might once more undertake the ſiege of Fez; and he accordingly obliged the Sharif to abandon that city.

Muley Shaik, now become maſter of the capital and the appending monarchy, was the firſt of the kings of the race called Merini, the deſcendants of a branch of the Benimerins. The dominion of the Me-

rini only extended over the kingdom of Fez; because, in theſe diſcordant times, the provinces of Morocco, Suz, Sugulmeſſa, and others, were ſubjected to other ſovereigns, who found themſelves capable of maintaining their independence.

CHAP.

## CHAP. V.

*Sharifs of the Merini — Troubles that happened under their reign.*

THE family of Merini, which is alſo called Beni-Aotas, was ſo lightly eſteemed that it was not able to render its authority reſpectable in the kingdom of Fez. Independent of thoſe provinces which had ſhaken off obedience, there were cities that were governed within themſelves, or by the authority of chiefs which they had elected. The Portugueſe, who already had got footing on the coaſt, profiting by the weakneſs of theſe ſmall governments and their internal diviſions, poſſeſſed themſelves of various places, and inſenſibly extended their conqueſts. Several tribes of Moors, from animoſity, or provoked by the ambition of their chiefs, rather choſe to

become the allies of the Portugueſe, than to remain dependant on numerous maſters, who reciprocally depoſed each other.

The kingdoms of Fez and Morocco continued in this kind of anarchy till the beginning of the ſixteenth century; and the race of Merini, whoſe power was feeble, reigned only over the city of Fez and the neighbouring provinces. At this time a Moor, of the province of Dara, whoſe name was Mahomet-Ben-Achmet, calling himſelf a Sharif and deſcendant of the Prophet, perceiving that the contentions which exiſted in the provinces might favour a revolution; and knowing, alſo, the aſcendant which religion has over the minds of the vulgar, thought proper to employ theſe means to accompliſh his projects of ambition.

This Sharif ſent his three ſons, Abdel-Quiber, Achmet, and Mohamet, in 1508, on pilgrimage to Mecca, that they might thereby acquire the greater conſideration. Theſe young men, on their return, affecting all the exterior of religion, were moſt reſpectfully

respectfully received by the Moors, who flocked after them in crouds, contested who first should touch their garments, and venerated them as saints, who were come to console them amid their afflictions.

The superstition and enthusiasm of the people raised their fame so high that, when they returned into their province, the father, without hesitation, sent the two youngest to Fez to make themselves known in that metropolis, famous for its science and religion. The eldest of these two became the head of the first college, and the king confided the education of his children to the younger.

When the reputation of these Sharifs was well established, their father, who slowly pursued projects which had been deeply laid, engaged them to represent to the king of Fez the calamities which resulted from the divisions among the Moors, and those which were in future to be dreaded in consequence of their alliance with the Portuguese, who, soon or late,

would ſeize on their wealth, and reduce their perſons to ſlavery.

They artfully inſinuated to this prince how glorious it would be to himſelf, and how conducive to the proſperity of religion, could he unite all the Mahometans to repel, and drive theſe foreigners from the ſtates. This enterprize might be crowned with ſucceſs, according to their flattering repreſentations, would he permit them to traverſe the provinces with a drum and a ſtandard, awaken the ſpirit of religion among the people, inſtruct them in their true intereſts, and incite them to riſe in arms againſt the Chriſtians. Acknowledging this prince as their legitimate ſovereign, they requeſted he would beſtow on them ſome mark of authority which might give credit to, and make their miſſion reſpectable in the ſouthern provinces, where the Portugueſe were ſo powerful.

The king of Fez, who had no authority in theſe ſouthern provinces, and who had no ſuſpicion that the intentions of the Sharifs were inimical to himſelf, granted their

their request, in contradiction to the representations made to him by his brother, Muley Naffer, who, better informed than he was concerning former revolutions, affected by the Morabethoon and the Moahedins, under the veil of religion, prophesied evil from this project of the Sharifs, and foresaw in it more of ambition than of zeal. Neglecting this advice, the king of Fez granted them a drum, some soldiers to protect them, and royal mandates displaying the object of their mission. The two Sharifs entered the province of Duquella, and passed through the others till they came to that of Suz, in every place exciting the enthusiasm of the people against the Portuguese, whose ambition they failed not to exaggerate.

Politically considered, this mission was necessary, since, on one side of the coast, the Portuguese, in 1508, were masters of Saffi, and had made alliance with the most powerful of the neighbouring tribes, while, on the other, the Duke of Braganza, in 1513, had lately taken Azamora, insomuch that, from thence to Santa Cruz, the

coast

coaſt for more than a hundred leagues was in their power toward the ſouth, independent of the towns of Arzilla, Tangiers, and Ceuta, which they poſſeſſed to the north. In this critical ſituation, the empire being enfeebled and divided as it then was, they might moſt eaſily have conquered the whole coaſt; all which perfectly juſtified thoſe alarms which the Sharifs ſpread, although their perſonal motives had a very different tendency.

The miſſion of the Sharifs had every effect which might reaſonably be expected, and, under the pretence of the defence of religion, a number of tribes, that were then governed by themſelves, eagerly joined their ſtandard. Money being neceſſary to the Sharifs for the maintenance of theſe armies, the tribes granted them the tenth, as ordained by the Koran, which gave them a ſemblance of ſovereign power.

The city of Tarudant, which had been ravaged by the wandering tribes, acknowledged the old Sharif for its chief, and enabled

bled him alſo to maintain ſome troops. Thus aided, Mahomet-Ben-Achmet fortified himſelf in Tarudant, pretending thereby to free himſelf from the dominion of the Portugueſe, and impede their incurſions: Succoured by the Moors of Suz and Dara, he was preſently able to make war on the tribes near Cape Aguer, or Santa-Cruz, and alſo to enter the provinces of Hea, Duquella, and Temſena, where the people, as much moved by his ſermons as terrified by his arms, acknowledged him their ſovereign, under the modeſt title of Prince of Hea.

The Portugueſe, and Moors of the environs of Saffi, their allies, made incurſions at the ſame time into the province of Duquella, and ſpread terror to the very walls of Morocco: the old Sharif alone oppoſed their progreſs; but, dying during the time he was warring with them, he left the accompliſhment of his projects to the care of his ſons.

Theſe princes, having by their arts obtained the people's veneration, and who were

were as exact in paying their tenths as they were prompt at obedience, gradually extended their power. They remained with their forces between Saffi and Morocco to oppose the incursions of the Portuguese, whom, in various actions, they repulsed; but their advantages were, in some sort, balanced by the death of Abdel-Quiber, the eldest of the three brothers, who fell in battle.

The Sharifs, having formed the design of seizing on Morocco, made an alliance with Nasser Bushentuf, who commanded in that city, and held the neighbouring tribes in dependence. This governor, having made himself sovereign, received the Sharifs in Morocco, respecting their piety, and in the hope that he himself might find his advantage in their alliance. This confidence became fatal to Nasser Bushentuf, for his death quickly followed, which happened on returning from a hunting party with one of the Sharifs, who has been accused of having given him a poisoned biscuit. Achmet, the eldest of these princes, who had remained in Mo-

rocco, profited ſo well by his death, that, aided by the principal men of the city, whoſe friendſhip he had gained, he was proclaimed king.

Muley Achmet, now king of Morocco, ſent information of his election to the king of Fez, and, in gratitude for the ſervices he had received from the latter, affirmed, he only intended to govern under his authority, and paying him feudal homage. This quieted the fears of the king, and gave Muley Achmet time to eſtabliſh his power.

Morocco and its environs being thus ſubjected to the Sharifs, they, by artifices, endeavoured to poſſeſs themſelves of other provinces, and with ſuch adroitneſs did they foment factions that, when the different parties made war on each other, each of them depended on the aſſiſtance of the Sharifs, ſhould either need their aid. Theſe princes, however, who had only raiſed diſſentions that they might enfeeble the tribes, put their troops in motion, fell upon them, totally defeated them, plundered

dered their Douhars, and returned to Morocco victorious, and enriched with ſpoils. Their victories ſpread terror among the people, and the province of Duquella and its environs were thus ſubjected.

Become more powerful, the Sharifs now freed themſelves from that acknowledgement of ſuperiority which they had voluntarily paid to the king of Fez, only ſending him ſome ſmall preſents as they pleaſed, which were leſs to be conſidered as tributes than as tokens of friendſhip. The king of Fez complained of their inattention, but his death ſoon after happened, and his ſon, who had been the diſciple of the Sharif Mohamet, diſſembled, and confirmed the uſurpers in their principalities, on condition of ſome ſmall acknowledgement.

After the death of the king of Fez the ambition of the Sharifs increaſed with their power; they artfully allied themſelves with the chiefs of tribes in the environs of that city, that they might ſow diviſion; and, not only refuſed to ſubmit to the

the leaſt homage, but, ſent to inform the new king, their benefactor and ſovereign, that, being deſcendants of Mahomet, they had a more inconteſtible right than any perſon whatever to the Mahometan throne.

The two brothers at the ſame time divided their conqueſts; the eldeſt, Muley Achmet, retained Morocco; Muley Mohamet took up his reſidence at Tarudant, by which they could mutually ſuccour each other againſt the Portugueſe and their allies, who were maſters of moſt of the weſtern coaſt, from the cape of Aguer to the province of Duquella incluſive.

The king of Fez, who had too long connived at the perfidious conduct of the Sharifs, reſolved, though ſomewhat late, to make them repent of their ingratitude, and, with two pieces of cannon, went in perſon to beſiege Morocco. His army, not being ſufficiently numerous to inveſt the city, could not prevent Muley Mohamet from throwing in ſuccours, which he brought from Tarudant. This ſame Sharif

rif made a fally, a few days after, with his troops, and fell on the camp of the king of Fez with fo much intrepidity that he forced his army to retreat, leaving the field of battle covered with the flain.

After this check the king of Fez was obliged to raife the fiege, as much for want of fufficient force as to go and re-eftablifh order in his own kingdom, where his brother, Muley Meffaoot, profiting by his abfence and ill fortune, had raifed an infurrection. He was followed in his retreat by the Sharifs, who attacked his rear-guard, which they came up with in the province of Efcura; after which, paffing into that of Tedla, and coafting the mountains, they obliged the people, fubjects to the king of Fez, to pay them contributions.

Having appeafed the revolt, incited by Muley Meffaoot, the king of Fez, more than ever enraged againft the Sharifs, marched once again to befiege Morocco. The Sharifs likewife marched to meet him, though with an inferior army, and waited for him on the banks of the river of negroes

to

to diſpute his paſſage. The king of Fez, arriving at the oppoſite ſhore, encamped likewiſe, and the two armies obſerved each other for ſome days; at length, the king determined to attempt the paſſage; he divided his army into three corps, gave the command of the firſt to Abu-Abdalkah, king of Grenada, who, having loſt his own kingdom, had taken refuge with the king of Fez, the ſecond to his brother-in-law, and headed the third himſelf.

The king of Grenada, having with him the ſon of the king of Fez, paſſed firſt; and, as he proceeded to the middle of the ford, and his van-guard began to aſcend the banks of the river, where the land was high, the king of Suz attacked this van-guard with ſo much valour that it was defeated: the ſon of the king of Fez was killed, as alſo was the king of Grenada. This prince, who never had expoſed his life in defence of his own kingdom, loſt it on this occaſion in defence of another; the confuſion among the ſoldiers

was so great that the van-guard of the king of Fez, forced back in the river, overwhelmed those who were coming to their assistance, and they thus mutually drowned each other. The king of Fez, not having yet begun the passage with his detachment, seeing the disorder irretrievable, retired with so much haste that he abandoned his wives, baggage and artillery, took the road to Tedla, and returned to Fez.

This victory, which highly influenced the vulgar opinion, was so favourable to the Sharifs, that they were emboldened to greater undertakings, and determined the following year to pass mount Atlas with numerous forces, where they seized on the kingdom of Tafilet. On their return they raised contributions on the provinces of Fez, left troops in them, and forced those of the king of Fez to retire. After this success, Muley Mohamet left his brother atMorocco, and returned to Tarudant. In 1536, this prince came before Aguadier, or Santa Cruz, then in the power of the Portuguese; the siege of this place was

ſomewhat long, but it was obliged at laſt to capitulate. The power of the Sharifs was ſtill farther extended after this conqueſt, becauſe that the Moors, who had been allies of the Portugueſe, unable longer to receive aid from them, determined to pay homage to theſe princes.

This increaſe of dominion, which every where embroils nations, became at length a ſubject of diſcord between the Sharifs. Muley Achmet the eldeſt, who poſſeſſed the kingdom of Morocco, had ceded that of Suz to his brother Muley Mohamet, on condition of ſome tribute being paid; but the latter, whoſe valour, and other qualities, had rendered him the moſt popular, felt how eaſy it would be for him to rid himſelf of this dependence; and, inſtead of remitting his brother the fifth of the ſpoils he had made during the laſt campaign, thought proper to ſend a ſmaller part. This offended the king of Morocco, who imagined he had a right to preſcribe ſuch homage as he pleaſed. Muley Mohamet refuſed compliance, and explana-

tions enſued between the brothers; which did but incite new aggravation, and each of them began to commit hoſtilities on the domains of the other till war became almoſt inevitable.

To prevent the conſequent calamities, a Moor, who was held in veneration, perſuaded the two brothers to an interview, which gave occaſion to an irreconcileable hatred. Muley Achmet treacherouſly endeavoured to ſtrangle his brother as they embraced, but the latter, more adroit, eſcaped the danger ; and, now become open enemies, they prepared for war.

Muley Achmet immediately ſent his ſon, Muley Sidan, with troops into the province of Dara, which appertained to the kingdom of Suz, there to levy contributions. Muley Mohamet, on his part, oppoſed theſe hoſtilities, and different actions enſued betweeen the armies of the two princes, in which fortune generally was in favour of the king of Morocco. The loſſes of Muley Mohamet did not, however, diſhearten him, but rather ſerved farther

ther to raiſe his courage. Having aſſembled the governors of provinces, and the chiefs of tribes, he rehearſed to them his brother's acts of injuſtice, and ſo effectually inſpired them with a dread of his tyranny that they all ſwore eternal fidelity to Muley Mohamet. After receiving their proteſtations, the ſovereign gave them aſſurance, holding by his beard in token of a vow *, that, if they would be as faithful as they promiſed, he would vanquiſh his brother, and lead him priſoner to Tarudant.

The two armies ſoon took the field, each endeavouring to profit by every kind of ſtratagem to ſurprize the other. Having, at length, met at the entrance of a valley, that of the king of Suz, which was upon the height, aſſaulted the army of the king of Morocco with ſuch impetuoſity that it was obliged to give ground, and the

* When the Moors hold by their beards, while they ſwear, it gives ſtrength to the oath, which, after this formality, they rarely violate.

cavalry, being ſo confined as to be unable either to form itſelf or act, the ſoldiers were obliged to alight from their horſes, that they might eſcape with greater facility.

During the rout the king of Morocco, and his ſon Muley Boeza, were made priſoners, and conducted to Tarudant; but his eldeſt ſon, Muley Sidan, after collecting the remains of the army, retreated to Morocco. In this extremity the inhabitants of this city thought the beſt means were to negociate, and, after council held, Muley Sidan ſent his wife to the king of Suz, his uncle, to effect an accommodation, and implore his clemency. The princeſs pleaded ſo effectually that Muley Mohamet granted his brother freedom, on condition that they ſhould divide their conqueſts. There were many other clauſes in their treaty, but, it was ſo little obſerved, that, to recite them, would be ſuperfluous.

The king of Morocco, once again returned to his ſtates, proteſted againſt the validity of the treaty, affirmed that, it having

having been made while he was a priſoner, it could neither injure his rights nor thoſe of his deſcendants, who, by their birth, had a legitimate claim over his domains, which it was not in his power, by any renunciation, to take from them. After ſuch a proteſtation the two brothers, equally irritated, again made diſpoſitions for war, and the king of Suz paſſed Mount Atlas, by haſty marches, to invade the territories of Morocco.

The two armies met, ſeven leagues from that capital, on the nineteenth of Auguſt, 1544; and Muley Mohamet attacked his brother with ſo much valour that he totally defeated his army, and purſued it to the very gates of Morocco.

Here he ſummoned the inhabitants to deliver up the city, if they would not expoſe themſelves to all the rigours of war; and the governor, having received no tidings of his maſter, ſuppoſing he might have been taken or ſlain, and not daring to defend the place, repreſented to the in-

habitants that, Suz and Morocco being governed by princes of the ſame blood, it was but juſt that he ſhould open the gates. Muley Mohamet, on his entrance, was ſaluted by the people as their ſovereign.

After having viſited the fortreſs, and placed guards in every part, the prince entered the palace of his brother, where all was in confuſion; the treaſury was pillaging; the wives and daughters of Muley Achmet were ſolely occupied, during the tumult, to conceal what they poſſeſſed moſt precious; but the prince ſoon quieted their fears, and took care at the ſame time to ſecure the treaſury.

Muley Achmet, who had loſt himſelf during the night, arrived while theſe things paſſed, with few followers, at the private gate of the palace, where he knocked aloud. He was anſwered from the top of the walls, and adviſed to fly, for that his brother was maſter of the city. Accordingly this prince retired immediately to the ſanctuary of Sidi-Abdallah-Ben-Ceſſi, as to an inviolable aſylum.

From

from this place Muley Sidan and Muley Boeza went to Fez, to intreat aſſiſtance from the king, who beheld, with ſecret ſatisfaction, the diviſious of thoſe Sharifs, whoſe perfidy he himſelf had proved, and therefore promiſed aid to the moſt feeble, hoping by this means he ſhould be enabled to deſtroy the moſt mighty.

The conſecrated perſons appertaining to the ſanctuary where Muley Achmet had fled for refuge, were buſied in their endeavours to procure an interview between the two brothers, which accordingly, in a few days, took place. Muley Mohamet, who, on ſimilar occaſions, had made proof of the ill faith of his brother, took his precautions, and received him in his tent, as well as his children, with his ſabre in his hand; theſe ſaluted their uncle, and proſtrated themſelves before him to embrace his knees. Muley Achmet approached the laſt, and his brother went to receive him at the entrance of his tent, where they embraced, wept, and remained for ſometime ſilent.

Muley

Muley Mohamet, at length, reproached his brother concerning the little faith with which he had obſerved the treaty concluded at Tarudant, adding that, 'to this his breach of faith, more criminal in kings than even in other men, he muſt attribute his misfortunes; that Providence had deſpoiled him of his ſtates but to revenge his having broken a promiſe, pledged; that, being his elder brother, he had ever treated him as his ſuperior and ſovereign, and that, ungrateful as his conduct had been, he ſhould ſtill continue ſo to do; but that, having given his word to the inhabitants of Morocco not to ſuffer him any more to enter the city, he could not break it, leſt he ſhould thereby incur ſimilar reproaches; it therefore appeared moſt proper that he ſhould, for a time, retire to Tafilet with his ſons, and there await a better deſtiny; that they ought to regard the conqueſts they had already made, with the aid of the Almighty, as harbingers of ſtill greater ſucceſs. Muley Achmet made ſome reply, in his own juſtification, and, confiding in the generoſity of his brother, took the way to Tafilet.

Muley

Muley Mohamet, thus become maſter of the ſouth of the empire, put himſelf in a condition to make Muley Oatas Merini, king of Fez, repent the kind reception he had granted his nephews. Seeking a quarrel with him, he demanded the province of Tedla as appertaining to the kingdom of Morocco, and at the ſame time ſent his ſecond ſon, Muley Abdel Cader, with troops to levy contributions, and beſiege a caſtle, which was in that province. This caſtle, which was well defended, was vigorouſly attacked by the young prince, who yet was unable to take it, the king of Fez having come to its relief.

Hearing this, Muley Mohamet aſſembled all the cavalry of Suz and Morocco, marched in perſon toward Tedla, and joined the troops that were under his ſon's command. The army of the king of Fez was ſuperior to that of the king of Morocco; but, being compoſed, in part, of the inhabitants of Fez, who were fickle of temper, not inured to war, but rather accuſtomed to effeminacy and pleaſures, this army was daily weakened by deſertion.

Muley

Muley Mohamet, well acquainted with the levity of the people of Fez, eluded action as long as he thought convenient, till, at length, determined to give battle, he harangued his troops, and declared, that, desiring only to fight with men who were determined on victory, he gave liberty to all those to retire who felt they wanted this resolution; that, persuaded as he was, men, bred in the city of Fez, though superior in numbers, were unable to stand before soldiers so courageous as those he commanded, he intended to give battle, confiding in their valour, and not doubting but that the victory would render him the greatest sovereign of Africa.

Animated by this discourse, the soldiers called aloud to be led to the enemy, and, on the next morning, the army advanced in order of battle. This order was in the form of a crescent, according to the custom of the Moors; the two extremities of which were commanded, the one by Muley Messaoot, the king's son, and the other by the Alcade Mumen, son of a Genoese renegado; the king was in the centre with

2 his

his other children, having the Arquebuſiers in his front, and the artillery drawn by peaſants, or carried by mules.

The two armies remained facing each other without beginning the attack; the Sharif had commanded that no motion ſhould be made till the ſignal had been given; the heat of the day was exceſſive, and the prince artfully waited till the ſun was on the decline; and at the moment when, being behind his army, it ſhone in the face of his enemies, the firing of a cannon was the ſignal of attack, and this was made with ſuch impetuoſity, and ſucceſs, that the army of the king of Fez was immediately put to rout. As this prince was riding to paſs the river of Derna, and rally his flying forces, his horſe fell, and he and his ſon, Muley Buker, were made priſoners. All the troops of Fez, that compoſed the main body of the army, retired in diſorder. Muley Buhaſon, Prince and Lord of Gomera, in the province of Rif, who commanded a detachment, was the only Moor who fought courageouſly, and retired in good order.

A de-

A detachment of Turks, commanded by a resolute Persian, intrenched behind a battery, likewise prevented the victorious Moors from surrounding them. The Sharif, astonished at the valour of these foreigners, offered to take them into his service on the same conditions they had enjoyed under the king of Fez. The Persian general accepted the proposal for himself, and such of his detachment as thought proper to follow him, provided the king of Morocco would pledge his word for their safety. Muley Mohamet sent his ring by one of his sons, and the Persian general entered into his service with those of his soldiers who were not married at Fez; the rest laid down their arms and retreated.

After he had restored order in the camp, Muley Mohamet sent for Muley Oatas, king of Fez, and consoled him in his misfortunes, which, he said, must be attributed to the sins that were openly committed at Fez without reprehension. The king of Fez, enfeebled as he was by his wounds, assumed strength enough to reply, that it was

was not always in the power of the sovereign to extirpate habitual and rooted vices, and that, be the irregularity in his administration what it might, it did not thence result that he had a right to make war upon him, and seize upon his states, more especially when the benefits were remembered which he had received from his father. An agreement was afterward made between the Sharif and the king of Fez, that the latter and his son should be restored to liberty, for which he should yield up the city of Mequinez.

The Sharif took the road to Fez to enforce this agreement, but Muley Buhason, who had entered Fez with the remains of the army, beholding the confusion there was in the city, while it remained without a monarch, had Muley Cassari, a young son of the king, proclaimed, on condition that he should restore the crown to his father so soon as he should recover his liberty. The king of Morocco mean while came and encamped, with his army, four leagues from Fez, whence he dispatched letters from the king, his prisoner, to his mother and the

the principal men of the city; that they ſhould put Mequinez into his power; but Buhaſon, who directed in Fez, occaſioned the anſwer to be delayed, that he might ſhut up the Sharif, between the army of Fez and another which was raiſing at Mequinez. Being informed of this, the the king of Morocco decamped before the paſſes were ſeized, taking with him his priſoners.

Muley Mohamet, having gained intelligence of the diſſenſions among the Moors in the environs of Fez, profited by theſe, in 1548, to ſend troops thither, the command of which he beſtowed on his two eldeſt ſons, Muley Haram and Muley Abdel Cader, who committed ſome ravages round Alcaſſar and Mequinez. This diverſion, and the want of concord throughout the government of the north, further ſhook the wavering faith of the towns, and tribes of the kingdom of Fez, who were half in commotion, and who were with difficulty reſtrained from rebellion. In this conjuncture the Moors, who were by profeſſion ſaints, interfered, as uſual, to pacify the people;

people; and it was at length agreed that the city of Mequinez ſhould be given to Muley Mohamet, on condition that the king of Fez ſhould be reſtored to liberty, which was accordingly performed; but the Sharif exacted a promiſe from the king, before his departure, that, whenever he ſhould make the demand, he would alſo yield him the city of Fez.

The king being come to Fez, his ſon reſtored him the government; but Muley Mohamet, who would not give him time to re-eſtabliſh his authority, appeared before the metropolis about two months afterward, of which he demanded the poſſeſſion. The king of Fez anſwered that his ſon, and the inhabitants, would not ſuffer this, and therefore it was not in his power to comply. The Sharif was ſo enraged, by this meſſage, that he cauſed the ambaſſador who brought it to be beheaded, and ſent a detachment of cavalry to the very gates of the city to commit hoſtilities; but this detachment was beaten, and forced to retreat.

Muley Mohamet then repaired to Mequinez, whence he sent for two of his sons to join him with what troops they could assemble in Morocco, and the southern provinces; after which he marched to meet this reinforcement, and encamped near the river Seboo. The different actions that happened between the troops of the king of Fez, and those of the king of Morocco, were to the advantage of the latter, who marched toward Fez and blockaded the city. Some sallies were made by the king of Fez, which made but little impression, while the inhabitants, in want of provisions, went by hundreds to the Sharif, who received them with open arms, and further straitened his lines to cut off all communication. After a long siege, the inhabitants gave up the place to the Sharif, who, for form sake, beat down a part of the walls, and entered the city unknown to the king, who was then in New Fez

The news being brought him, this prince flew to recover his capital; the two parties fought from street to street with equal rage, and he would even have recovered

vered Fez, had not the people, according to their uſual inconſtancy, declared themſelves for the Sharif, and forced his troops to retire. Without ſubjects, and without ſoldiers, the king rather choſe to ſubmit to the clemency of the conqueror than to abandon his crown, his wives, and children. The king of Morocco, however, took poſſeſſion of the city and caſtle of Fez, married one of the king's daughters, and ſent him and his children to Morocco and Tarudant, where he cauſed them to be aſſaſſinated. Such was the tragical end of the houſe of Merini, and ſuch the ingratitude and perfidy it received from thoſe Sharifs which itſelf had raiſed, and who, having ſtripped it of its poſſeſſions, and exterminated its race, ſoon themſelves felt the viciſſitudes of fortune.

## CHAP. VI.

### *The Revolutions of the Sharifs.*

AFTER having feized on the kingdom of Fez, Muley Mohamet fent his brother, Muley Achmet, into the defert, with a part of his family, that he might have nothing to fear from his ambition. The change of government in Fez, however, foon raifed troubles in the northern provinces, which obeyed with repugnance a prince who had depofed their rightful fovereign. Muley Mohamet therefore determined to fend troops into the provinces, as well to make his authority refpected as to keep the foldiers occupied, and prevent the effects of their inconftancy. He fent his three fons, Muley Haram, Muley Abdel Cader, and Muley Abdallah, againft the city of Tremecen, of which they poffeffed themfelves

 without

without the leaſt reſiſtance. Haram advanced toward Oran, but could not conquer it; and, having returned to Fez, he there fell ſick and died. The Algerine Turks, having heard of the reduction of Tremecen, marched with an army to effect its recovery. The king of Morocco ſent three of his ſons, with various detachments, to its relief; but the want of concord between theſe brothers, who, born of different mothers, had little affection for each other, and acted as if they had oppoſite intereſts, occaſioned the loſs of the place, and of a battle, in which one of them was killed, and another wounded.

At the ſame time, Salah Reis, governor of Algiers, who had acquired the reputation of valour, informed by Muley Buhaſon, prince of Gomera, of the perfidious conduct of the Sharifs, to the king of Fez, offered his alliance to dethrone Muley Mohamet. Buhaſon accepted the propoſal, and alſo aſſured him he would allow a thouſand piſtoles, daily, for the maintenance of his troops, and abandon to him

 all

all the ſilver, gold, and jewels, which might be taken from the Sharif. Salah Reis accordingly departed, in 1553, with his artillery, and 4000 men, who were joined during their progreſs by a multitude of volunteers, that continually increaſed.

The Sharif, then engaged in ſubjecting the mountaineers of the environs of Morocco, having heard of this march, went to the relief of Fez, and ſent all the cavalry he could collect to encamp in its neighbourhood. Salah Reis, as he advanced toward this city, had an engagement with Muley Abdallah, ſon of the king of Morocco, who commanded the rear-guard of his army, in which the young prince loſt the baggage and ſtores, which obliged the Sharif to haſten his march and enter Fez. Salah Reis, a few days after, having encamped near the city, the king of Morocco determined to ſally out, becauſe the inhabitants enjoy the privilege of capitulating, if the enemy approach the city within half a league.

The

The king of Morocco, after having held council, marched to dispute the passage of the Seboo with the enemy. His position was nearly the same as it had formerly been when opposed to the king of Fez, with this difference, that Salah Reis was a more able general, had a more formidable artillery, and better gunners. Salah Reis, intending to pass the river, cannonaded the army of the Sharif to prevent its acting, while his cavalry effected a passage; each horseman carried an Arquebusier behind him, who, as fast as they gained the shore, entrenched themselves behind palisadoes, which they brought with them, while protected by their cavalry, whom the Moors were unable to drive from their posts. By this skilful conduct Salah Reis gained the opposite shore, encamped, and lay all night under arms.

The next morning the Sharif disposed his army in order of battle. Salah Reis did the same; and, notwithstanding the superiority of the Moors, whose numbers

were more than five to one, by his good generalſhip, taking advantage of his enemy's miſtakes, and oppoſing art to ſtrength, Salah Reis obliged Muley Mohamet, whoſe troops began to give ground, to ſound a retreat, and retire into New Fez. Salah Reis and Buhaſon then advanced toward Old Fez, where they found ſome reſiſtance from one of the ſons of the Sharif; but Buhaſon, having advanced with five hundred reſolute Turks, burſt the gates and entered the city, which was eaſily taken, Muley Abdallah, while he attacked the one gate, retiring through the other to join his father in New Fez. Muley Mohamet, perceiving the enemy maſter of Old Fez, thought only of flight, bade his wives carry every thing they had moſt precious with them, and follow him; but he, being in haſte to ſecure himſelf, could not wait for them, and ſeveral of them fell into the conqueror's power. Before he left the city he opened his treaſury, and ſuffered it to be pillaged by his own people, to prevent its falling into the hands of his enemies, whoſe booty conſequently was ſmall.

After

After Salah Reis had taken Fez, there was ſome altercation concerning the election of a king; he conſented, however, at length, that Muly Buhaſon ſhould be proclaimed, according to ſtipulation; and, having been paid, agreeable to treaty, he returned to Algiers with his troops, loaded with plunder.—Yet was not Salah Reis contented with Buhaſon; he therefore informed the king of Morocco of his departure, and aſſured him he would grant his enemy no farther aſſiſtance, ſhould he undertake the recovery of Fez. Muley Mohamet, however, who had haſtily marched for Morocco, did not confide in this intelligence, but even wrote to Muley Abdallah, his ſon, to abandon Mequinez, which thus fell likewiſe into the power of the conqueror.

Muley Achmet, who had abandoned Tafilet by the order of his brother Muley Mohamet, and retired to the deſert, learning that he had loſt Fez, profited by this momentary weakneſs to ſeize upon Tafilet, in which there were no troops. He ſent informa-

information of his intentions to Muley Buhaſon, and intreated his aid.

Muley Mohamet diſſembled his knowledge of theſe proceedings, till he was well certified of the return of Salah Reis, and his forces, to Algiers; he then aſſembled two armies, at Morocco, the one of which he led toward Tafilet, and gave the command of the other to his ſon, Muley Abdallah, for the recovery of Fez. The latter approaching this city, Muley Buhaſon ſent his two ſons, Nacer and Mohamet, to oppoſe him with an army; but the two princes, diſunited in opinion, did not concert their operations together. The latter, deſirous of obtaining all the honour of victory, advanced with his detachment, attacked the army of Muley Abdallah, was totally defeated, and obliged to fly.

Irritated at this defeat, Buhaſon aſſembled his forces, and marched himſelf to attack Muley Abdallah, who now, being himſelf routed, was obliged to return to Morocco.

Muley

Muley Mohamet, who had blockaded Tafilet, being informed of the defeat of his ſon, carefully ſpread a contrary report, by which the courage of Muley Achmet was ſo ſunken that he imagined there was no reſource, except in his brother's clemency; to intreat which he ſent his ſons. By this artifice Muley Mohamet retook Tafilet, ſent his brother to a ſanctuary near Morocco, and detained his two ſons, whom he ſhortly after cauſed to be maſſacred.

He then departed from Tafilet toward Fez, to make another attempt on that city, and revenge the defeat of his ſon Abdallah. Muley Buhaſon marched to meet and give him battle; victory was diſputed by both with the greateſt obſtinacy; but Muley Buhaſon, having been killed by a lance, his troops took to flight; the Sharif remained maſter of the field, and victoriouſly re-entered Fez.

In his wrath againſt the inhabitants, whoſe fickleneſs and cowardice he had proved, he treated them with the utmoſt ſeverity,

ſeverity, exacted the repayment of his loſt treaſury, and an indemnification of his expences, for the defence and recovery of the city. In vain did the people remonſtrate on the impoſſibility of paying a ſum ſo exorbitant, eſpecially after the loſſes to which they had been expoſed. They agreed, however, to pay him the amount of three millions of livres, or one hundred and twenty-five thouſand pounds, to relieve themſelves from perſecution. The king afterward ſeized on the poſſeſſions of wealthy individuals, and cut off many that he might obtain their riches. To avoid witneſſing the hatred of the inhabitants, he made Morocco his place of reſidence, and left his ſon Abdallah at Fez, in quality of Viceroy.

Returned to Morocco, Muley Mohamet brought his brother thither, and put him under a guard. In 1556, he made diſpoſitions to ſubject the Brebes of the mountains, who had given ſigns of commotion, and left his ſon, Muley Abdulmomen, at Morocco, with Ali-Ben-Buker, as governor. He paſſed Mount Atlas with his army,

army, but nothing remarkable happened during the campaign, except the death of this king, who was killed by a Turk, that had entered into his ſervice with that expreſs intention. Thus, as he roſe to empire by treachery, he himſelf periſhed by the hand of a traitor.

After the death of this prince, while waiting for the arrival of Muley Abdallah, who was at Fez, Ali-Ben-Buker, governor of Morocco, fearing the people might elect Muley Achmet, had him murdered in his priſon; and thus both theſe Sharifs, who had perfidiouſly made religion and good faith a pretext to deſpoil their maſters and benefactors of ſovereignty, whom, between them, they cauſed to periſh, fell themſelves, as did moſt of their poſterity, by the hands of murderers, the merited reward of their crimes.

Muley Abdallah, hearing at Fez of the death of his father, left the government of this city to his brother, Muley Abdulmomen, and departed, in 1557, for Morocco, where

where he was joyfully received. Having aſſembled the chiefs of the army, and the principal men of the city, he was proclaimed king of Fez, Morocco, and other towns and provinces, under the dominion of the Sharif. In the beginning of his reign this prince gave tokens of generous ſentiments, by which he acquired the affection of his people; but it was not long before he began to act the tyrant. Uneaſy at perceiving the popularity of his brothers, on whom he had beſtowed governments, he determined to recal them, intending to rid himſelf of them and his fears.

Muley Ottman, who was at Tarudant, repaired to court, as did his two nephews, who were governors, the one of Dara, and the other of Mequinez; but his brother, Muley Abdulmomen, excuſed himſelf on a pretext of buſineſs. Muley Abdallah put the three others to death, and, that he might varniſh his tyranny, accuſed them of not having fulfilled the duties of their office, and of failure in their adminiſtration of juſtice. This cruel act rendered Abdal-

Abdallah odious to his ſubjects, and inſupportable to himſelf, which occaſioned a fit of ſickneſs that almoſt brought him to the grave.

After his recovery, Muley Abdallah once more ſent to his brother, Abdulmomen, to concert with him a meditated enterprize againſt Mazagan; but the latter, knowing what had happened to Ottman and his nephews, replied, he would be at Morocco as ſoon as poſſible, and, under the pretext of departing for this city, having collected his riches, he took the road to Tremecen, in 1559, that he might paſs thence to Algiers. He was received with diſtinction at Algiers by Haſſen, ſon of Barbaroſſa, Dey of that city; and, after acquiring reputation by his good conduct and bravery, Haſſen beſtowed one of his daughters on him, and confided to him the government of Tremecen.

Muley Abdallah heard, with diſpleaſure, of the reception his brother had met from the Dey of Algiers, dreading leſt their union ſhould affect the good intelligence

telligence he had held with that regency, the power of which he had proved; he consoled himself, however, with reflecting that, being rid thus of his brothers and nephews, he had no competitors now to dread. The principal governments in his kingdoms he bestowed on his sons, and, in 1562, determined to lay siege to Mazagan, which he had for some time meditated; but his enterprize was unsuccessful, and he was constrained to retreat, after suffering great losses.

Muley Abdulmomen remained in peaceable enjoyment of his government of Tremecen, when the son of Muley Abdallah, then governor of Fez, resolved to have him assassinated. He concerted the means with one of his faithful servants, who, pretending he had quarrelled with his master, fled from him, and took refuge at Tremecen. This Moor acted his part so well that Abdulmomen gave him a most gracious reception, and granted him unlimited confidence. The favourable moment being come, the traitor, having made every preparation for flight, killed the

prince

prince, while at prayers, with his croſs-bow, and had time to mount his horſe and return to Fez, where he was generouſly rewarded by his maſter. Another kind of reward, however, followed, and ſuch as his crime deſerved; for the inhabitants of Morocco, who loved Abdulmomen, their former governor, having accuſed the king, Muley Abdallah, of the murder of this prince, he, to juſtify himſelf, ſent to Fez for the guilty Moor, whom he dragged through the ſtreets without hearing him, that he might neither betray himſelf, nor his ſon.

The conduct of Muley Abdallah toward his brothers and nephews diſgraced him the more with his ſubjects, becauſe he had alienated their affections by his mode of life. He wanted courage, and addicted himſelf to drunkenneſs and pleaſures, regardleſs of all decorum; he had, nevertheleſs, ſome good qualities, employed his revenues to uſeful purpoſes, built palaces, added colleges to the moſques, and, in 1572, erected the caſtle of Cape Aguer,

having received information that Don Sebaſtian, king of Portugal, was equipping a fleet at Liſbon, that he might again poſſeſs himſelf of Santa Cruz and its road. Notwithſtanding the diſlike of his ſubjects, this prince, who had removed his brothers that he might indulge himſelf more licentiouſly in his pleaſures, reigned ſeventeen years without ſuffering any revolution, and, dying in 1574, left his eldeſt ſon, Muley Mohamet, his ſucceſſor.

Muley Mohamet, ſurnamed the negro, becauſe he was the ſon of a negroeſs, had ſcarcely aſcended the throne before, imitating the inhuman policy of his father, he diſpatched two of his brothers, and impriſoned the third, that he might enjoy his power in tranquillity. This cruelty rendered him alſo odious to his ſubjects, and Muley Abdelmeleck, or Moluc, one of his uncles, profiting by this diſpoſition, incited them to revolt, and dethroned him without difficulty.

Muley Mohamet, availing himſelf of the intelligence there was at that time between the Moors and the Portugueſe, repaired to Liſbon to ſupplicate aſſiſtance from Don Sebaſtian, who was then aſſembling an army to invade Africa. In this army Muley Mohamet ſerved, and convinced the king of Portugal that his preſence was of great utility to his projects. The expedition of Don Sebaſtian, however, was unſucceſsful; he was defeated and ſlain in the plains of Alcaſſar, and Muley Mohamet, who was then in his army, was drowned in croſſing a river. Muley Abdelmeleck, who had uſurped the crown, and was ill before the battle began, expired in his litter, in the very moment of victory; and thus do vaſt projects vaniſh in an inſtant.

Muley Achmet, brother of Abdelmeleck, after having won the battle, was proclaimed king of Fez by the army, and the governors of provinces and cities. His brothers were obliged by him to ſwear fidelity to his ſon, Muley Shek, and inſure to him the ſucceſſion. In 1594 this prince

made preparations for extending his dominions, when he was informed of the arrival of Muley Nacer, who had long remained in Spain, and who, depending on promiſed aid from Philip II., endeavoured to incite a revolt in his own favour. Muley Achmet ſent one of his ſons with a body of troops againſt this uſurper, who, after having been wounded in the battle, was obliged to abandon his camp and baggage, and renounce his hopes.

Muley Achmet, beloved and reſpected by his people, was the laſt deſcendant of the Sharifs, whoſe reign was troubled by no revolution. He died in 1603, and left his ſtates diſtracted by factions, which greatly increaſed the regret felt for his death.

The hiſtory of Spain informs us that Philip II. maintained a friendly coreſpondence with him, and even ſent an ambaſſador to his court, by whoſe intervention thoſe Lords, who had been taken at the battle of Alcaſſar, were recovered from ſlavery. Muley Achmet alſo ſent the

I body

body of the king, Don Sebaſtian, to Philip. From other Spaniſh writers we learn that Philip II. ſent painters to the king of Morocco, who generouſly rewarded them for their works *. Hence we may conclude that moſt of the paintings, to be found in the palaces of the Mooriſh kings, are probably the performances of Chriſtians.

After the death of Muley Achmet, Muley Sidan, the youngeſt of his ſons, being preſent with his father, was proclaimed ſucceſſor; but this proclamation did not prevent his three brothers from forming parties to maintain their claims, and, in leſs than two months, all the four were alternately maſters of the empire. In the different actions occaſioned by theſe revolutions, victory always declared for Muley Sidan: this prince having, at length, ſubjected Sallee, which, from its ſituation, gave a balance in favour of its poſſeſſor

* Viage d'Eſpana, de Don Ant. Pons. Tom. I. Lett. II.

throughout theſe diſputes, remained victorious over his rivals.

His eldeſt brother, Muley Shek, had recourſe to the king of Spain, Philip III., to obtain a ſupply of money, and, in November 1610, put into the hands of this ſovereign the city of Laracha, of which he was poſſeſſed, as a ſecurity, both for his friendſhip and the ſum received. This aid, however, did not prevent Muley Sidan from ſtill remaining ſovereign of the empire.

The repoſe of the monarch was diſturbed by the Brebes, or inhabitants of the mountains, near Morocco, who obliged him to quit his capital, that he might free himſelf from their inroads. Having found means to divide theſe tribes, and ſubject them either by his arms or his negotiations, he peacefully paſſed the remainder of his reign, and died at Morocco in 1630, leaving princes, as his ſucceſſors, who were little qualified to govern. It appears that, in 1622, this ſovereign received an ambaſſador from Holland, who was accompanied by

by Golius, the disciple of Erpenius, and professor of the Arabic language. Muley Sidan was astonished at the learning of Golius, who wrote Arabic perfectly; but who could not speak it with facility *.

Muley Abdelmeleck, eldest son of Muley Sidan, succeeded his father, and was the first king of Morocco, who, beholding several small kingdoms united under his government, assumed the title of Emperor. At the commencement of his reign this prince affected to be religious, but, afterward, yielding to his character, he rendered himself so hateful to the people, by his drunkenness, cruelty, and a multitude of other vices, that the citizens of Fez called his brother, Muley Achmet, to the throne. The latter, having manifested similar propensities, was not less disagreeable to his subjects, who perceived they were not bettered by the change.

The public discontent incited new factions, and Muley El-Valid and Muley

* Bayle Dic. Hist. & Crit. mot Golius.

Semen both diſputed for empire with their brother. But, neither of them inſpiring ſufficient confidence to raiſe up a powerful party, they were obliged to deſiſt from their enterprize. After reigning four years, Muley Abdelmeleck, in 1635, was aſſaſſinated in his tent by a diſcontented ſlave, who, finding him in a ſtate of intoxication, ſhot him with a piſtol.

Muley Abdelmeleck being dead, Muley El-Valid, his brother, aſcended the throne; this came the more unexpectedly becauſe he had been impriſoned by order of his deceaſed brother, whoſe intention it was to have put out his eyes as a puniſhment for the rebellion he had raiſed. Such are the ſports of fortune. The reign of this prince was diſtinguiſhed by his mildneſs and affability, which obtained him the eſteem and affection of his ſubjects, reſtleſs as they had been when ſuffering under the cruelty of his predeceſſors. El-Valid likewiſe gave proofs of a generous and great mind, by pardoning and releaſing ſtate priſoners, and by augmenting the pay of his troops.

His

His reign, however, was troubled by an inſurrection, which his brother Semen, a reſtleſs and ambitious man, had incited, and which was promoted by an Alcaid, whom Muley El-Valid had releaſed from priſon. The ſedition, however, was ſoon quelled by the defeat of the troops of Semen, who, together with the Alcaid, was taken; the latter was beheaded in reward for his ingratitude, and Muley Semen ſtrangled; a rigorous judgment for Muley El-Valid, who, in the beginning of his reign, had ſhewn ſo much humanity and clemency. This ſeverity, perhaps, contributed to over awe the turbulent, for his reign was no more troubled by rebellion, and he died a natural death, in 1647, after having reigned twelve years. M. Sanſon, ambaſſador from France, who had met ſo many obſtacles under the reign of Muley Abdelmeleck, obtained from Muley El-Valid the ranſom of various Frenchmen, who had been held in captivity in the ſtates of Morocco.

Muley Achmet Shek, the laſt of the ſons of Muley Sidan, was elected Emperor,

peror, after the death of his brother, Muley El-Valid. An enemy to labour, addicted to pleaſures, and ever immured with his wives, this prince wholly neglected the government of his kingdom, commiting it to the care of covetous miniſters, who abuſed their influence and authority.

The indolence and effeminacy in which this monarch lived, and the oppreſſions of the governors of provinces, and cities, excited murmurs among the people, and, at length, univerſal diſcontent. The mountaineers, more reſtleſs and more reſolute than his other ſubjects, conſulting their ferocity only, and profiting by the weak ſtate of the empire, beſieged and took Morocco. After ſubjecting the inhabitants to all the calamities of war, they put Muley Achmet to death, and proclaimed one of their chiefs, named Crom-El-Hadgy; who had no right of birth to the crown, and who reigned ſome years without the love of his people.

This prince inhumanly maſſacred all the deſcendants of the Sharifs, who might

any way have difturbed his reign, and, by his cruelty, revenged the blood and the rights of the houfe of Merini, whofe monarchs thefe fame Sharifs had deftroyed, after having ftripped them of wealth and fovereignty.

Raifed to the throne by a factious multitude, Crom-El-Hadgy was ever confidered as a ufurper. Having never been proclaimed by the people, his power was limited to the metropolis, and extended not to the remainder of the empire. His furname of Hadgy, which leads us to fuppofe he had been at Mecca, was, perhaps, the only circumftance that produced his election, becaufe of the veneration in which the Moors hold thofe who have performed this pilgrimage. Crowned by the caprice of fortune, this fovereign, having no ideas of government, defpifed the Moors fo much that he confided all his authority to a Jew, as alfo the collecting of his revenues. This Jew, that he might avenge thofe humiliations his nation fo often had fuffered, fometimes abufed his power; his will was law, and, without his

his consent, nothing could be transacted. The conduct of Crom-El-Hadgy, and his misplaced confidence, so offensive to the prejudices of the Mahometans, made him the contempt of his subjects; and, after having reigned about seven years, his end was tragical.

Having fallen in love with the daughter of Muley Labes, whose brother he had murdered, he determined to make her his wife, notwithstanding the secret aversion in which she held him; and this princess, like another Judith, sacrificed him to the public hatred, and her own resentment. After consenting to espouse him, she gave him wine to drink on the bridal day, in which was a soporific infusion, took this occasion to poniard him, and avenged, by the murder, the blood of her family, which had stained the throne of the usurper.

It appears probable that this princess had a passion for Muley Shek, the son of Crom-El-Hadgy, since she sent him intelligence of his father's death, and afterward

ward married him, which, at leaſt, highly diminiſhed a her pretenſions to generoſity, or nobleneſs of mind. Muley Shek did not long enjoy royalty, to which he had not the leaſt claim; he was dethroned by a new revolution, that placed the reigning family on the throne of Morocco, as we ſhall ſee in the following book.

BOOK.

# BOOK IV.

Sharifs of the reigning family to the acceſſion of Sidy Mahomet — Reign of Muley Sharif, the founder of this Dynaſty — Reign of Muley Mahomet — Reign of Muley Arſhid — Reign of Muley Iſhmael — Reign of Muley Achmet Daiby — Reign of Muley Abdallah.

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## CHAP. I.

*Muley Ali brought from Mecca; held in veneration, and called, by diſtinction, Muley Sharif. Reigns peaceably.*

WHEN we attentively conſider the preſent ſituation of Africa, and all the changes that have happened on its northern boundaries for a ſucceſſion of ages, we are led to imagine it was deſtined by Providence ever to remain the theatre of great revolutions; and thoſe which have ravaged the empire of Morocco, ſince the introduction of Mahometaniſm, ſeem to have been ſtill more fermented by this religion.

After

After the Arabs had ſubdued the northern coaſt of Africa, we beheld Edris, the deſcendant of Mahomet, fly from Medina to its weſtern boundaries, as to the further end of the world, to eſcape tyranny and perſecution. The Moors, who inhabited the mountains where he fixed his abode, edified by his virtues, eagerly embraced his religion; and, reſpecting his birth, they ſtill further claimed him as their ſovereign. By ſome inexplicable contradiction, Edris, a humane and juſt prince, the enemy of wars and devaſtations, became the founder of an empire ever in commotion; and the firſt acts of a ruſtic, reſtleſs, and ferocious people, were homages paid to virtue.

Mahometaniſm, which, by the nature of its cuſtoms and inſtitutions, muſt ever be moſt ſucceſsful in hot climates, made ſuch a rapid progreſs, in Africa, that it there invariably ſtamped the character of deſpotiſm, which was the baſis on which it firſt roſe, and which, prodigally beſtowing on the ſovereign unbounded authority, inſpires only fear and deſpondency in the ſubject.

The

The Moors, more ſuſceptible of fanaticiſm than any other people, becauſe they are more ignorant, and becauſe the heat of the climate more ſuddenly inflames their imagination, preſently ſaw thoſe different ſects ſprout up, that pride and ſuperſtition have multiplied, and that, ſometimes under the veil of exceſſive auſterity, at others aſſuming the maſk of indulgence and reformation, ſeduce the mind, over which they alternately domineer. Then is religion the cloak of ambitious conquerors, who impoſe upon an ever fickle, turbulent, ignorant, and fanatical multitude. Thus has the northern part of Africa, the prey of credulity, oppreſſion, and deſpotiſm, ſucceſſively groaned under an army of uſurpers, and changed the maſter almoſt with the moment.

The Empire of Morocco, which, in the thirteenth century, under Jacob Almonſor, had acquired an extent of power ſcarcely credible, loſt this power with equal rapidity, becauſe that thoſe paſſions, which actuate kings, and raiſe inſurrections among

the people, neceſſarily bring on the fall of empires, that only proſper under the protection of certain and fixed laws, and want baſis and ſupport where the government is arbitrary.

Having taken a retroſpect of this empire, overturned by a ſucceſſion of crimes, originating in the ambition of uſurpers and the reſtleſſneſs of the people, we ſhall now ſee it, under the reigning houſe, acquire a kind of conſiſtency by the aid of devaſtation and ferocity, which ſtill are much more proper to overthrow than to raiſe up empires; yet have not theſe violent concuſſions ſhaken the throne of Morocco; nay, its foundation ſeems to have been further ſecured, in proportion as it has been cemented by blood. Equally the inſtruments and the victims of tyranny, ever divided by prejudice and hatred, the Moors know not how to make one ſtep toward liberty. Confirmed in their belief of irrevocable fate, which impoſes upon and over-awes their minds, they only behold, in the will and caprice of a never-ſatisfied deſpot, the eternal decrees of that Divinity

whofe image and oracle he is fuppofed. Thus, by prejudice confecrated to flavery, thefe people never can change their condition, whatever may be the example of revolution, the progrefs of reafon, or the power of time. Reafon, indeed, can make no progrefs in an arbitrary and ever abfolute government, where tyranny and violence prefent inceffant barriers. Their government refembles the brambles of their deferts, which ftifle, in their firft growth, thofe genial plants that only flourifh by care and culture.

After the extinction of the family of the Sharifs, who had dethroned the houfe of Merini, and who afterward fell themfelves the victims of their own ambition and perfidy, there were feveral years of dearth at Tafilet, and thefe countries underwent all the horrors of famine. The Moors of that province, who then made a pilgrimage to Mecca, brought back a Sharif, named Muley Ali, a defcendant of Mahomet, born at the town of Yambo, near Medina, whom the people treated with the utmoft

respect. According to Moorish tradition, the palm trees bore no fruit before the arrival of the Sharif. Seasons having returned to their former course, the harvests became so abundant that the simple and superstitious people of the country attributed a change so miraculous to the presence and religion of the Sharif. All the Moors of the Morocco states, discouraged as they had been by the devastations which had afflicted the empire, and wondering at so happy a return of plenty, easily believed Providence had sent them Muley Ali, to bring their calamities to a period, and this prince, on whom they had bestowed the name of Muley Sharif, as a title of distinction, was proclaimed king of Tafilet. The remaining provinces of the empire proclaimed him also, except Morocco, and its environs, which were then in the power of Crom-El-Hadgy.

The last of the sons of Muley Sidan having been destroyed by that usurper, the princes of the ancient families, who had governed the empire, were all extinct.

 Muley

Muley Sharif, therefore, king of Tafilet, was, by the rights of birth, of religion, and the public wiſh, the legitimate ſovereign.

The Dynaſty acquired the ſurname of Fileli, derived from Tafilet, from this prince, whoſe poſterity was ſo numerous that he is ſaid to have had eighty-four ſons, and a ſtill greater number of daughters; thoſe of his male children, who have been moſt known to hiſtory, are Muley Mohamet, Muley-Quiber, Muley-Haran, Muley-Meheres, Muley-Arſhid, and Muley-Iſhmael-Semein. The firſt and the two laſt have reigned in ſucceſſion; the latter, ſons of a Negroeſs, diſtinguiſhed their reign by ſome warlike actions, but much more by a continuation of tyranny and cruelty that degrade humanity.

The veneration in which the people held Muley Sharif was the moſt certain pledge of their fidelity, and he had no need of the aid of armies to make his power reſpected; he therefore remained at Ta-

filet, without ſhewing himſelf throughout his empire; and the provinces, exhauſted by the diviſions with which they had been ſcourged during the preceding reigns, were governed with equity, by thoſe rulers to whom they were aſſigned by the monarch.

We perceive, notwithſtanding, that moſt of the Shaiks of the tribes, diſtributed among the mountains, ſilently profited by the troubles which divided the empire, the advantages of ſituation, the propenſity of the People, the diſtance of the Court, and the indolence of the Emperor, to extend their own authority. This authority would, at length, have become acknowledged, and hereditary in their families, had not the ambition and barbarous policy of Muley Arſhid ſtopped its progreſs.

Muley Sharif reigned ſome years, undiſturbed by the wavering temper of his ſubjects, to make whom happy he had dedicated his life. His death was highly regretted,

gretted, and Muley Mohamet, his eldeſt ſon, who gave hopes of virtues equal to his father's, aſcended the throne, and was unanimouſly proclaimed.

## CHAP. II.

*Acceſſion of Muley Mohamet. Rebellions and ſtratagems of Muley Arſhid.*

MULEY Mohamet peaceably reigned at Tafilet, after his father's example, when a rebellion was raiſed by his brother Muley Arſhid. This prince, intelligent, but ambitious and bloody, knowing the inconſtancy of the Moors, projected a diviſion of the empire, and again expoſed it to revolutions ſimilar to thoſe by which it had been ſo long diſtracted. Retiring toward Dara, he preſently found himſelf at the head of a numerous party; but Muley Mohamet expeditiouſly followed him with a body of cavalry, ſeized and threw him into priſon, and inflicted exemplary puniſhment on the rebels.

Muley

Muley Arſhid having eſcaped, and been retaken, he was guarded with greater precaution ; but, by the aid of a negro ſlave, appropriated to ſerve him, and who alone had the liberty of ſeeing him, he effected a breach through the tower, in which he was ſhut up, and, during night, was delivered from his dungeon. The faithful ſlave, after procuring liberty for his maſter, and having prepared horſes for flight, while ſtooping to put on the ſpurs of Muley Arſhid, was cloven down by the inhuman monſter who thought only of his own ſafety.

This black ingratitude, the reward of the labours and fidelity of a ſlave, was alſo the ſignal of new calamities, by which the empire was afflicted. Muley Arſhid haſtily fled to the mountains of Shavoya, eaſt of Temſena, and, without diſcovering himſelf, went and offered his ſervices to Sidi-Mahomet Ben-Buker, who there was abſolute, and held in veneration for his holineſs. Arſhid, diſſembling his birth and projects, ſerved as a common ſoldier,

and

and gained his maſter's confidence by his zeal and fidelity.

Some Moors of Tafilet having diſcovered this prince in the market, the ſons of Ben-Buker took offence, and Muley Arſhid thought proper to fly, went to Quiviana, in the mountains of Rif, and offered his ſervices to Ali-Soliman. This prince, who reigned as ſovereign, remarking his abilities, ſoon confided to him the adminiſtration of his domains. Arſhid behaved with ſo much art, and diſſimulation, that he obtained the unlimited confidence, both of prince and people. Going to viſit the ſtates dependent on Ali-Soliman, Arſhid, under the pretence of reſtoring order, raiſed contributions there, took poſſeſſion of ſome caſtles, cut off the governors, whom he accuſed of malverſation, and diſtributed the wealth he had acquired among his ſoldiers.

He next proceeded into a diſtrict, called the mountain of the Jew, becauſe a Jew governed there, and becauſe the Brebes, whom he had ſubjected to his laws, re-
ſpected

ſpected him as their ſovereign. After ſpreading terror through the country, he maſſacred the Jew as unworthy of commanding Mahometans, ſeized on his wealth, and rewarded his troops.

Muley Arſhid, having gained the confidence of his ſoldiers, whoſe numbers were augmented by his courage, generoſity, and ambition, he declared to them whom he was, no longer concealed the plan he had formed, but promiſed to ſubdue the country, and give it a new Lord, if they would ſecond his endeavours, and partake his fortune and fate. The propoſition was accepted by all the chiefs of the mountains, who, induced by his valour and generoſity, ſwore fidelity, and acknowledged him their maſter.

The Shaik, Ali-Soliman, informed of the perfidious conduct of Arſhid, marched to give him battle, before his party was further ſtrengthened. The daring Arſhid waited his approach, and ſo artfully ſpread the rumour of his liberality that moſt of the ſoldiers of the Shaik abandoned him, and

and deserted to Muley Arshid. Soliman was himself delivered up to this prince, who brought him prisoner to Quiviana, that he might get possession of his treasures, menacing him with death if he did not discover them with the utmost exactitude. Abandoned by his troops, and beholding himself in the power of a perfidious and furious man, Ali-Soliman did not hesitate to give up all his concealed riches; but Muley Arshid, regardless of his promise, put him to death, thus to confirm his own authority.

The conqueror then called his soldiers, and said to them: " However precious " these metals may be, a prince, who " buries them in the earth, deserves not to " reign. Come, my friends, and divide " with me what you have merited by " your activity and affection." The gold he kept, that it might be of after service; but he gave all the silver to the officers, that they might distribute it among the soldiers.

The

The fame of Muley Arſhid was extended by this conduct, and was an irreſiſtible recommendation among the Mooriſh tribes. Covetous, poor, and rendered vile by oppreſſion, they forgot the perfidy of a traitor, who had robbed his benefactor of dominion, and afterward of life, remembering thoſe proofs of generoſity by which their avarice was provoked. Muley Mohamet, king of Tafilet, alarmed at this propenſity of the people, in his brother's favour, endeavoured to ſtop his progreſs, and marched with an intent to meet and give him battle. Their armies approached each other among the mountains; and that of Muley Mohamet, twice thrown in diſorder, was at laſt obliged to fly. Muley Arſhid continued the purſuit as far as Tafilet, where Muley Mohamet had ſhut himſelf up, and to which place the former laid ſiege. The king, intimidated by his brother's courage, and ſtill more by his ferocity, fell ill, and died, a few days after, in 1664.

CHAP.

## CHAP. III.

*Reign of Muley Arſhid; his politic liberality; conqueſts; barbarities and accidental death.*

THE city of Tafilet was ſoon taken, after the death of Muley Mohamet; the face of the whole empire was changed, and Muley Arſhid made the neceſſary diſpoſitions to maintain his ſovereignty. He entered the province of Rif, which he poſſeſſed himſelf of, as likewiſe of the city of Teza, where he paſſed the winter. In the ſpring of 1665 he marched for Fez, which city, having taken by ſurprize, and ſending for the governor, after having obliged him by torments to declare where his wealth was concealed, put him to death. He attempted the ſame practice with the governor of New Fez, who, acquainted with his

his perfidy, chofe rather to expire in torments than to difcover where his treafures were concealed, haughtily telling him, he hoped they would become the inftruments of deftruction to him, and all his pofterity.

All the Shaiks of the neighbouring diftricts, and the governors of cities, who, during the relaxation of government, had erected themfelves into petty fovereigns, terrified by the rapid and bloody progrefs of Muley Arfhid, haftened to render him homage, and offer him prefents. The Alcaid Looeti, one of the number, had a beautiful daughter, whom Muley Arfhid efpoufed; and the power fhe obtained over him gave her father, alfo, an afcendency over this prince, by which Looeti moderated the feverity of his decrees.

Defiring to fubdue the province of El-Garb, which extends along the weftern coaft, from the mouth of the Strait to Mamora, the king, before he departed, fent for the richeft tradefmen of Fez, and commanded each of them to build a houfe in the

the new city, in which to lodge his ſoldiers at his return.

His army now amounted to forty thouſand men, and he ſubdued the people who inhabited the eaſtern part of the province he had undertaken to conquer. The Alcaid Gailand, a courageous man, who governed in this country, made fruitleſs efforts to oppoſe the victor; abandoned by his forces, he was conſtrained to take refuge in Arzilla, whence he fled by ſea to Algiers, that he might eſcape the wild fury of this prince. The conqueſt of El-Garb induced the inhabitants of Sallee to make their ſubmiſſion; and, from this city, Muley Arſhid ſent preſents to thoſe Shaiks, of the Shavoya mountains, by whom he was known, that he might there obtain new allies, inſomuch that, in two campaigns, Muley Arſhid was maſter of all the north of the empire. He ſoon departed for the mountains of Shavoya, ſubduing on his route the Shaiks of different tribes, and ſeizing on their riches, which he divided among his ſoldiers. He next invaded the territories of Ben-Buker, under whom he had

had ſerved as a common ſoldier, and who waited for him with an army of mountaineers, intending to give him battle; but this Shaik, abandoned by his troops, was delivered up to Muley Arſhid, who poſſeſſed himſelf of his treaſures, and put him to death.

After thus having cruſhed theſe ſmall riſing principalities, Muley Arſhid paſſed the winter among the mountains, where he reinforced his army by a number of volunteers; he then began to march toward Morocco, in 1667, intending to dethrone Crom-El-Hadgy, who, about this time, had been poniarded by his wife, and had left his ſon, Muley Shaik, the heir of his uſurped domains. The latter, intoxicated by his pleaſures, troubled himſelf little concerning Muley Arſhid, and did not think of defence till the conqueror was at the gates of his city; he then ſallied out with ſome troops, little inured and ill diſpoſed to war, and that, far from fighting in his defence, were each more eager than the other to deſert to Muley Arſhid, and acknowledge him their ſovereign.

Thus abandoned by his troops, Muley Shaik endeavoured to fly into the neighbouring mountains, but was taken and brought to Muley Arſhid, who had him dragged into the city on the fortieth day of his reign, tied to the tail of a mule. The city of Morocco was glad to ſubmit itſelf to Muley Arſhid, having for ſome time been under the government of uſurpers, without name, birth, or abilities; they even requeſted the body of Crom-El-Hadgy might be taken from the ſepulchre of their kings, which was granted; and this corpſe, with that of the Jew, who had commanded under him, and all his family, then living, were burnt, to ſtrike terror into the Jewiſh nation, and teach it no more to interfere in the principal adminiſtration of government.

No ſooner was Muley Arſhid maſter of Morocco, than this monarch, whom I ſhall hereafter call Emperor, his predeceſſors having aſſumed that title, received homage in the metropolis from all the neighbouring tribes. He afterward departed for the eaſtern ſide of Mount Atlas, the frontiers

 of

of Tafilet, to ſubjugate the inhabitants of that country. Terrified by the rapid ſucceſs of his arms, theſe tribes eagerly haſtened to pay him ſubmiſſion. He next marched toward Tarudant, where the people were equally ready to implore his clemency, and ſwear fidelity.

Maſter of all the provinces of the empire, this monarch now returned to Morocco, where he made preparations for two new expeditions. The firſt of theſe, intended againſt Fez, he was himſelf to command, and the other to be ſent againſt the Shabanets, or Chabanets, who inhabited various vallies near Mount Atlas, his nephew, Muley Achmet, was to conduct.

It would be difficult at preſent to aſcertain the origin of this tribe. From the moſt ancient accounts, it appears they were the poſterity of more than forty thouſand ſlaves, male and female, who, during the reign of Jacob Almonſor, and before his time, had been tranſported from Spain to Africa, who had built the extenſive

walls of Rabat, and had been employed in various works. To recompence the labour and fidelity of these slaves, Jacob Almonsor determined to grant them their liberty. The principal people of his court remonstrated concerning the danger there would be in setting free so great a number of foreigners, who, having made a conquest of part of the country, might easily return, and vanquish the whole.

Jacob Almonsor had pledged his word for their freedom, and was determined to keep it; he therefore offered them the choice of the province they most would prefer for their abode; and this choice fell on a district among the mountains, which the Brebes were obliged to abandon. This emigration took place during the moon called Shaban; and, according to Moorish tradition, the people were for that reason called Shabanets.

For some generations the descendants of these slaves professed the Christian religion, which they gradually changed for Islamism, having no place of public wor-

ship,

ſhip, and becauſe that moſt of the men married Mahometan wives. This caſt long preſerved the reputation of valour, but, confounded with the neighbouring tribes, it has forgotten all remembrance of its origin, which, indeed, would be but a poor recommendation among the Moors, who are much more proud than is imagined of the antiquity and purity of their deſcent.

Muley Arſhid, arriving at Fez in the ſpring with four thouſand horſe, ſummoned, on his arrival, the tradeſmen, whom he had commanded to build houſes, or barracks, for his ſoldiers. This order they had neglecting to execute, truſting to the incertitude of human events, and not ſo ſuddenly expecting the return of their tyrant. He, enraged, commanded them to be tied to orange trees, and began to maſſacre them himſelf with his ſabre, when the Alcaid Looeti, his father-in-law, interceded in their behalf, obtained their pardon, and prevailed on the Emperor to be ſatisfied with a fine of thirty quintals

of ſilver, or upward of eight thouſand pounds.

The widows of the tradeſmen, who had been killed, refuſing to pay a part of this contribution, Muley Arſhid obliged them by torture, himſelf preſiding, a ſpectator of their torments *; he would even have had them drowned in the river, after having received their money, had not the Alcaid Looeti obtained a revocation of this order. What are kings, if monſters ſo execrable are worthy of the title!

During the time that Muley Arſhid was thus employed at Fez, Muley Achmet, his nephew, marched to ſubject the Shabanets, who, at firſt, obtained ſome trifling victories; but the prince, having, at length, been entirely ſucceſsful, he compelled them to render homage to Muley Arſhid.

* He had the deteſtable barbarity to put the breaſts of theſe women between the lid of a coffer, and to get upon it himſelf, to oblige them to give up their money.

No ſooner did the Emperor hear of the reſiſtance theſe mountaineers made to his troops, than he departed from Fez to encounter them himſelf; and, although he learnt on his arrival at Morocco that they where ſubjugated, he determined to proceed. To prove that he applauded their valour, he offered to entertain and treat thoſe among them well who would ſerve in his armies. This tribe, abounding with valiant men, beheld, with pleaſure, the arrival of Muley Arſhid, whoſe warlike deeds they reſpected: the chiefs among them again paid homage to him perſonally, and a body of ſix thouſand men followed his fortunes.

Inflated with proſperity, and projecting the conqueſt of Africa, Muley Arſhid entered with his army into the province of Hea; the inhabitants of which, animated by the firſt efforts of the Shabanets, had reſolved to diſpute his paſſage. Diſcouraged, however, by the defeat and ſubmiſſion of theſe mountaineers, they went to meet him with rich preſents, and brought

him their young virgins, as vaſſals bring up to their lord their firſt fruits.

Muley Arſhid received the deputation favourably, and, without abuſing his power, ſent the maidens back to their parents with preſents.

He then marched toward the Cape of Aguer, or Santa Cruz, where the inhabitants, diſperſed among the mountains, determined to take up arms. The Emperor had then about ſeventy-five thouſand men, under his command, all valiant, armed with ſabres, maſſy-clubs, and arrows. Irritated by the reſiſtance he found, he gave no quarter to theſe tribes, but ſeized on all their riches. His ſeverity ſpread terror ſo much, throughout the country, that the town of Santa Cruz made its ſubmiſſion, previous even to his arrival.

Ambition, and the ſucceſs of his arms, determined Muley Arſhid to proceed to Illec, the capital town of the principality of Suz, at that time governed by Sidi Ali, a Ma-

a Marabout, held in great veneration throughout those diſtricts. The Emperor laid ſiege to the town, which was unable to reſiſt for want of proviſions. Sidy Ali, preſſed by the inhabitants, whoſe inconſtancy he dreaded, ſaw the town muſt be taken; but, deſirous of eſcaping the cruelty of the conqueror, he and his whole family fled, by night, through a door in his garden, and eſcaped, into the province of Sudan, lying to the north of Senegal, where he claimed an aſylum, and the protection of the king.

After the departure of Sidy Ali, Illec having opened its gates to Muley Arſhid, he, covetous of glory, and emulous of ſurmounting difficulties, reſolved to paſs into Sudan, and collected the neceſſary proviſions for the traverſing of the deſerts, which ſeparated theſe countries.

When he came to the frontiers of the ſouth with his cavalry, harraſſed by fatigue, he found more than a hundred thouſand negroes in arms to diſpute his paſſage. Unwilling to riſk the chance of a battle

a battle in a country ſo barren, and where he had no place of retreat, he ſent ſome Alcaids to the king, to inform him he was not come to make war, but to requeſt he would deliver into his hands the prince of Suz.

The king of Sudan replied, Sidy Ali had fled to him for refuge and protection, conſequently he could not deliver him up without violating the laws of hoſpitality, a crime impoſſible for him to commit; that, having already been deprived of his ſtates, it was but juſt to preſerve his life; and that he further deſired, he, Muley Arſhid, would declare, whether he came as as a friend, or an enemy.

Remembering the hazard and peril of his preſent ſituation, Muley Arſhid diſſembled his anger; and, after having aſſured the king of Sudan his intentions were friendly, marched back toward his own country. On this occaſion he prevailed on many negroes to follow him, to whom, treating them with generoſity, he confided the guard of the palace.

Having

Having extended his empire from the Straits of Gibraltar to Cape Non, Muley Arſhid beheld himſelf the moſt puiſſant monarch of Africa; he was equally deſirous of being the moſt wealthy, and beſtowed all his attention on the amaſſing of riches. Detachments were ſent throughout the provinces to levy extraordinary contributions, with orders to pillage on the leaſt refuſal.

A Caſile, compoſed of ſeveral tribes, made ſome reſiſtance, and this emperor ſent a detachment thither, with a command to bring him the heads of the rebels. The news of this expedition having occaſioned the greateſt number to fly among the mountains, the old men, women, and children, only remained, who fell the miſerable victims of this abject, this abhorrent decree. Their heads ſent to Fez, and, expoſed round the walls of the city, ſpread terror throughout the empire.

To maſk his barbarity, under a pretence of paying ſome attention to juſtice, for deſpots, as well in Morocco as elſewhere, think

think it neceſſary thus to colour their capricious cruelties, this Emperor commanded that thoſe who robbed travellers, or granted any aſylum to thieves, ſhould be ſought out, and their families exterminated; further ordering, that each province, and each Douhar, ſhould become reſponſible for the crimes committed within their diſtrict, that, by their watchfulneſs, crimes might be prevented. This ordinance gave the people impreſſions ſomewhat more favourable concerning their ferocious tyrant, and was in itſelf good and uſeful; the roads became ſafe, and the country people could go and come, without danger, to their markets, where they might barter their mutual products.

The law was favourable to the poor, who were much the moſt numerous; but it alſo ſerved to cloak the avidity of the monarch, who, devoured by the thirſt of accumulating gold and ſilver, employed every means his avarice could ſuggeſt to ſtrip the rich and great of their wealth, and thus deprive them of the deſire, or the means, of inſurrection. This maxim, ſo

ſo proper in itſelf to exterminate nations, appears to have become a ſtate ſyſtem in Morocco, and the devaſtation of that empire demonſtrates what are its wretched conſequences.

No longer occupied by projected conqueſts, Muley Arſhid commanded various caſtles to be built in the provinces of his empire, thereby to give his power ſtability, and prevent the effects of inconſtancy among the people. The ſmall ſquare fort, which ſtands alone at Rabat, was built for this intent.

The tyrant had now begun to indulge himſelf in eaſe, when the ſons of his brother Mahomet, king of Tafilet, who had taken refuge among the mountains, entered into a conſpiracy there to revenge the death of their father, and to ſeize on the empire themſelves. They had gained over the governor of Old Fez, who had enjoyed their father's confidence, and him they informed by letter of the place where he was to meet and join their forces. This letter they confided to a renegado, re-

com-

commending him to kill the bearer, that they might be certain of not being difcovered.

The renegado had fome fufpicions, and, inftead of taking the letter to the governor, went and prefented it to the Emperor, who generoufly rewarded his fidelity. The Emperor immediately went to the place appointed, that he might himfelf furprize his nephews; but, underftanding they were betrayed, they took to flight, and efcaped, though fired after by their purfuers; they, however, were overtaken and brought to their uncle, who fent them prifoners to the caftle of Teza, where he commanded them to be put to death.

Having gone into the province of Rif, in the begining of the year 1672, to amufe himfelf with hunting, Muley Arfhid was there informed, that his nephew, Muley Meheres, whom he had left viceroy at Morocco, profiting by his abfence, had taken up arms. The young prince had confided in the Alcaid Abd-Elhafis Araze, whom the Emperor had appointed to watch over his conduct.

conduct. This governor betrayed him, and, that he might do ſo the more effectually, promiſed to ſecond his projects.

Muley Meheres propoſed that he ſhould go and ſeize on Saffi, whither he might tranſport his treaſure, and take precautions for ſafety, in caſe of ill-ſucceſs. Abd-Elhaſis acquieſced in all the wiſhes of the prince, and departed ſooner than was intended, under the pretext of furthering his deſigns, which, however, he took the beſt means to circumvent. After having required the Alcaids of Saffi, and the neighbouring towns, to be watchful for their ſafety, he repaired with all diligence to the Emperor, and informed him of what had paſſed.

Little ſuſpicious of this, Muley Meheres departed, during night, for Saffi, where he expected he ſhould meet the Alcaid Abd-Elhaſis. Finding, on his arrival, that the town perſiſted in refuſing to grant him admittance, the prince, ſeeing himſelf betrayed, took the road for Mazagan, to demand refuge from the Portugueſe; but, being

being informed that thè governor of Azamore was in arms to prevent his paſſage, he fled toward Sallee that he might eſcape to Mamora, which was under the dominion of Spain. As he was croſſing the river of Sallee he perceived he was known; he, therefore, took the road toward Fez, that he might avoid raiſing any ſuſpicion. He ſoon, however, ſaw he was followed by the horſe of the Alcaid of Sallee, who had orders not to loſe ſight of him; eſcape was now become impoſſible, for, at three quarters of a league from the river, and at the entrance of the foreſt, he encountered the army of the Emperor, who was returning from Rif, and marching in all haſte toword Saffi. Here, therefore, Muley Meheres was arreſted, and gave up his arms. The Emperor, having his nephew in his power, immediately marched to Morocco, that he might prevent any inſurrection in favour of this adventurous prince, who was exceedingly beloved there by the people; but the city having teſtified no inclination to revolt, Muley Arſhid, to recompence the fidelity of the officers, con-

firmed

firmed them in the places which had been bestowed on them by Muley Meheres.

The Emperor then commanded his nephew to come before him, reproached him for his disloyalty, but, attributing this to his youth and want of proper reflection, ordered him to repair to Tafilet, there to employ himself in the study of the Coran, and in gaining a more perfect knowledge of his duties, as well as in the means of rendering the enterprizes he should in future undertake more successful. The feast of sacrifices approached, and, that it might be celebrated with the greater magnificence, Muley Arshid sent for the governors of provinces and cities to be present, according to the custom of that court. On this occasion the Emperor, having drank excessively of wine, in company with some of his confidential friends, a custom to which he was much addicted, took the fancy of mounting his horse, to amuse himself after the manner of the Moors. After prancing about in the allies of his garden, he spurred him forward, as may be well

ſuppoſed, with too much ardour, and the horſe ran with him into an alley of orange trees, where he fractured his ſkull, and died three days after, on the twenty ſeventh of March, 1672, in the forty-firſt year of his age.

Of all the Emperors who had governed Morocco, Muley Arſhid was the firſt who had demonſtrated a character natively ferocious; his reign was ſhort, but marked by a ſucceſſion of cruelties, the remembrance of which will not eaſily be loſt: he had ſo far contracted cruelty, by habit, that it was even become one of his amuſements.

An Alcaid, returning from a journey, vaunted of the ſafety of the high roads throughout the empire, which was ſo great that he had ſeen a ſack of walnuts which nobody had taken away. "And "how didſt thou know they were wal-"nuts?" ſaid the Emperor. "I touched "the ſack with my foot," replied the Alcaid. "Sever that foot from his body," continued Muley Arſhid, "as a puniſh-"ment for his curioſity."

I confine

I confine myſelf to this anecdote, unwilling to afflict the feelings of the humane, by here relating the extravagant and mad actions of a monſter. The relation of ſuch events as influence the fate of nations, or the manners of men, are alone abſolutely neceſſary to hiſtory.

## CHAP. IV.

*Muley Ishmael, equal in policy, and cruelty to, and more avaricious than, his predecessors: embassies, rebellions, and sieges, during his reign.*

AFTER the death of Muley Arshid, his brother, Muley Haran, in all diligence, began his journey toward Fez, that he might seize upon the public treasury as a certain means of securing empire to himself and soldiers for the defence of his power. Muley Ishmael, however, who was at Teza, and to whom the news was brought by a messenger on a dromedary *, was

* A domedary can travel sixty leagues in a day; his motion is so rapid that the rider is obliged to be girthed to the saddle, and to have a handkerchief before his mouth to break the current of the wind *.

* Reckoning the league at two miles and a half, and the day at twenty-four hours, this is still extraordinary travelling;

was already at Fez, and even proclaimed Emperor before the arrival of his brother. The latter, not daring to enter Fez, went to Tafilet, there to aid his nephew, Muley Achmet, with his advice, that he might make himſelf maſter of that part of Morocco where he was beloved. Muley Haran, having formed a party in Tafilet, was acknowledged king; and this was the firſt diviſion of the empire, after it had been united under Muley Arſhid, in conſequence of an unnatural mixture of valour, prudence, and blood-thirſty cruelties.

Muley Iſhmael, who poſſeſſed the ſame qualities, and ſtill greater vices, than his brother, Muley Arſhid, was publicly acknowledged Emperor in the city of Fez. The Alcaid Carra, governor of the city of

ling; yet M. Saint Olon, ambaſſador from Louis XIV. to Muley Iſhmael, ſays, the Moors aſſured him the Emperor's uncle had travelled a hundred leagues in one day upon a dromedary; which account, however, he held to be exaggerated. Perhaps it was upon this occaſion that the uncle of Muley Iſhmael made ſuch extraordinary haſte. T.

*St. Olon, Relation de l'Emp. de Mar. p. 24.*

Morocco, devoted to Muley Achmet, caused the gates of the palace, of which he was master, to be shut, and proclaimed Achmet, king of Morocco, at the head of the troops that were under his command. He sent intelligence of his proceedings to the prince, pressing him to come and secure his election by his presence.

Muley Achmet immediately departed for Morocco, where he was received most favourably; he was personally beloved, and had also married the daughter of Muley Labes, who was born in that city, and who therefore had a claim to the affection of its inhabitants.

Informed of what had happened at Morocco, Muley Ishmael marched thither with his army in the spring of 1673, before his nephew had had sufficient time to provide for his security. After passing the river of the negroes, Muley Ishmael pitched his camp near the green mountain, to the east of the province of Duquella, where he learned that his nephew was encamped within a league

league of the capital. Receiving advice of this, Muley Ishmael struck his tents, and marched within a small distance of his nephew, posting himself in a vast plain, where he immediately made preparation for battle.

The two armies did not long remain idle spectators of each other; fortune, for a time, seemed indecisive; but victory, at length, declared itself in favour of Muley Ishmael, who had the best troops. Little accustomed to gunpowder, the inhabitants of Morocco had retired toward their ramparts, there to wait the event of the battle. A profusion of dust, also in the plain, had occasioned so much confusion that numerous soldiers perished in the canals, dug in the earth, of which they were not aware.

Muley Achmet discovered much courage in this action, and was desirous of defying his uncle to single combat; but, having been wounded by a ball in the thigh, and in danger of being taken, he retired, for momentary respite, to the palace of his brother, Muley Talbe; and, after there

having his wound dreſſed, he fled from the city to gain the mountain before the concluſion of the battle.

After Muley Iſhmael had made victory ſure, he entered the caſtle, where he imagined he ſhould have found his nephew; the governor, Carra, informed him, he was fled; and this Emperor, with one ſtroke of his ſabre, ſevered the head of Carra from his body.

Some horſemen, who had gone in purſuit of Muley Achmet, took him, he being betrayed by the ſon of a Shaik, to whom he had fled for aſylum. Aſhamed of his perfidy, the father purſued the horſemen with a detachment, and once more recovered the young prince, who immediately fled to Tafilet.

We behold with veneration, that, in climates like theſe, deſtined to ſlavery, there are mountains which ſerve as barriers to independency, and people, though ferocious and uncultivated, whoſe fidelity is unſhaken toward the wretched fugitives whom they protect.

Muley

Muley Iſhmael remained ſometime at Morocco to receive homage from the neighbouring tribes and provinces, and then made preparations to march into the north of his empire. Not treating his ſoldiers with the ſame generoſity as Muley Arſhid had done, they at firſt diſcovered marks of diſcontent with the monarch's conduct. The city of Fez, informed of the ſecret diſpoſition of the ſoldiers, entered into a conſpiracy, the members of which ſent a deputation to Tafilet, to deſire Muley Achmet would come and put himſelf at their head.

The city of Teza ſubmitted to this prince, and the troops, that had partook the dangers and difficulties of Muley Iſhmael, retired, and deſerted from his ſtandard in open day. All the provinces were eager to receive Muley Achmet wherever he approached. The Alcaid Gayland, who had fled from Arzilla under Muley Arſhid, informed of theſe changes and troubles, ſolicited and obtained aid from the Algerines to recover his property and his government,

vernment, in which he was presently reinstated at the head of an army.

The old and new cities of Fez, divided in their inclinations and interests, daily combated each other, the old in behalf of Muley Achmet, the new for Muley Ishmael; but, as the latter had the best general, it had also the most influence among the neighbouring tribes.

To prevent the mischiefs that must result from the defection of the provinces, Muley Ishmael, who had come before Teza, thought proper to raise the siege, and march with twelve thousand men, the whole of his remaining forces, to give battle to the Alcaid Gayland, who had encamped near Alcassar. The Emperor attacked this brave general with so much intrepidity that he put his forces to flight. Gayland, notwithstanding the rout of his army, fought like a man in despair; he had four horses killed under him, and, having received a ball in his body, he fell, at length, the victim of numbers, and his

head, carried at the end of a lance, was the moſt important trophy of victory.

The defeat of this general intimidated the inſurgents, who thought proper to ſubmit, beholding fortune declare itſelf ſo decidedly for Muley Iſhmael. The conqueror pardoned the city of Alcaſſar; and, after eſtabliſhing peace in the province of Garb, he marched toward Old Fez, endeavouring, by promiſes, threats, and every means which policy could ſuggeſt, to gain over the inhabitants. Embarraſſed and undecided how to act, the citizens aſſembled in the moſque, where, following the counſel, and aſſiſted by the good offices of Sidi Abdelcader Feſſi, a perſon held in veneration, and whom they ſuppoſed could penetrate the ſecrets of futurity, they reſolved to implore the clemency of Muley Iſhmael. Neither, however, confiding in the faith of this Emperor, nor in all the promiſes he gave, they demanded that he ſhould ſolemnly make oath on the body of his brother, which had been tranſported from Morocco to Fez, there to be entombed.

Muley

Muley Ishmael having concurred with every requisition of the citizens, the deputies repaired to his palace, where, prostrating themselves to the earth, they supplicated pardon for the past. The Emperor raised, embraced them all, and, after hearing every thing Sidi Abdelcader Fessi had to say, he took him by the hand, proceeded with him to the sepulchre of his brother, and there solemnly swore peace, according to the conditions demanded by the deputies: the joyful people again returned to cast themselves at the feet of the monarch, and thanked him anew; after which, each man went quietly back to his house.

Muley Ishmael took advantage of this momentary security, cunningly, and without tumult, to send soldiers into the houses of the city, and seize on the arms of the inhabitants. This was done with so much secresy, and dexterity, that no individual suspected what had happened to his next-door neighbour. The Emperor remained two months longer at Fez, where he distributed money among the troops, and thus gained their affection.

In

In the beginning of 1674 Muley Ishmael went to encounter his nephew, Muley Achmet, who was encamped at no great distance from Fez. Being come in sight of each other, the armies were obliged to remain inactive for some time, because of the rains that fell; each party likewise hoped to vanquish the other by stratagem. This suspence was favourable to Muley Ishmael, who beheld a part of his nephew's troops, discouraged by the ill-fortune of the latter, desert to his army. Muley Achmet, at length, retreated, and took refuge in the province of Dara, there to wait a more fovourable opportunity of once more appearing in arms.

Muley Ishmael, having returned to Fez, distributed money among his soldiers, and marched toward the southern provinces, there to re-establish tranquillity, and relieve the city of Morocco, which was all but besieged by the mountaineers. The latter, informed of the approach of the Emperor, retired to their mountains, and the monarch continued his march to Morocco,

rocco, where he was received with demonſtrations of joy.

After a temporary repoſe, Muley Iſhmael proceeded to the province of Hea, where he levied heavy contributions. He next turned his march toward Mount Atlas, ſubjected the Shabanets, and put numbers of them to death by torture. He thence departed into the province of Shavoya, where the people obſtinately refuſed to pay tribute. Theſe mountaineers, intrenched in their vallies, and behind trees that they had felled, rendered all the efforts of Muley Iſhmael for a time fruitleſs; at length, one of his generals marching round the mountain with four thouſand horſe to put them between two fires, they, ſeeing themſelves thus ſurrounded, took to flight, and abandoned their wives and children, who were put to the ſword; the plunder, which was very conſiderable, was diſtributed among the ſoldiers.

After this expedition, which, in its circumſtances, greatly reſembled thoſe of Muley Arſhid, Muley Iſhmael returned to Fez,

Fez, where he exacted a contribution from the inhabitants of fifty quintals of ſilver, which he, as a favour, reduced to thirty-three, amounting to two hundred thouſand livres (between eight and nine thouſand pounds.)

The cuſtom of paying contributions by a determinate weight of ſilver is very ancient, as we read in Salluſt. When Jugurtha, king of Numidia, intreated clemency from Rome, Metellus, who commanded in Africa, firſt proviſionally exacted that he ſhould pay the Romans two hundred thouſand pounds weight of ſilver. The quintal of ſilver in Morocco, as now underſtood, is a ſtated ſum of a thouſand ducats, amounting to ſix thouſand ſix hundred livres, although a quintal of coined ſilver is equal to more than ten thouſand livres.

In 1675 an ambaſſador arrived at the court of Muley Iſhmael, from England, who came to demand peace, and who, among his preſents, had brought ſome Moors who had been enſlaved. The Emperor,

peror, agreeably to the usual mode and expressions of the court of Morocco, answered, he would act according to his request, and that he should return with satisfaction. At the very moment when the treaty was to be concluded, a Marabout, all in rags, but one of those who are saints by trade, approached the king, and told him, that the Prophet had appeared to him the night before, and had commanded him to inform the Emperor, Mahomet would aid him to vanquish his enemies, if he would not make peace with the English.

The king, pretending to venerate these reveries, kissed the dirty head of the Moor, and informed the ambassador, he was exceedingly sorry he could not make peace with him, for that he durst not incur the wrath of the Prophet. This anecdote perfectly depicts the conduct and instability of the court of Morocco, where the despot never wants a specious pretext to act according to his will, or an excuse for neglecting what he ought to perform, and that which he may have most solemnly promised.

In the ſame year the ſeeds of inſurrection again began to ſprout in the ſouthern part of the empire. Muley Achmet, for whom the people ſtill had ſome predilection, had a momentary hope of aſcending the throne. The Moors of Tarudant, and ſome tribes of mountaineers, ſent him their deputies, ſwore obedience, and offered to combat under him as their leader.

Confiding in this return of proſperity, the prince expedited a courier to the princeſs, his wife, who was at Morocco, to inform her of what had paſſed, and induce her to procure him partiſans in the capital. This princeſs, by her artful and kind behaviour to thoſe women who viſited her, ſo well diſpoſed the minds of the citizens, in her huſband's favour, that they promiſed to receive him into the city, and proclaim him Emperor. Muley Achmet, pre-informed of theſe events, preſented, himſelf before Morocco; the great were all in his intereſt, and the common people, impatient under the oppreſſions of their then governor, were ſtill more deſirous of this

change. To prevent any tumult which might result from public proclamation, the night prayer was called on the towers of the mosques, and heaven invoked for the preservation of Muley Achmet; this occasioned it to be supposed that the prince was already in the city, and all insurrection was thereby impeded. Muley Achmet entered in reality, followed by a numerous train; and the Alcaid, who governed in the name of Muley Ishmael, was obliged to retire.

Muley Ishmael was at this time proceeding toward Sallee, when he heard of the admission of Muley Achmet into Morocco. He sent his general, Messaoot Gerari, with four thousand horse and five hundred foot, whom he had selected at Sallee, to threaten the destruction of their families if they failed in their duty, and waited himself for the remainder of his army from Fez. Messaoot Gerari passed the river of the negroes with little resistance. Muley Achmet, who had only collected a few troops to oppose him on his passage, had, with the remainder, lain in ambuscade, and

and fell so opportunely on the van of the forces of Messaoot that he totally defeated the general, and obliged him to repass the river in disorder. Muley Achmet gave a favourable reception to the vanquished, and prevailed on many of them to enter into his service.

Hearing of the defeat of his general, the Emperor began his march, to come in person and attack his nephew. By the treachery of one of his generals, Muley Achmet was persuaded to return to Morocco, and not march and give battle; it was urged this would but expose him to the hazard of a defeat, in combating an army which would destroy itself. The army of Muley Ishmael, in effect, suffered greatly for want of subsistence, the provinces having been laid desolate, and almost rendered desert by the late succession of civil wars. The Emperor approached but slowly toward Morocco, having been informed by the general, who was in his interest, that his army was inferior to that of his nephew.

Nor was this incertitude the only difficulty Muley Iſhmael had to encounter during the campaign. The compariſon which his troops drew, between the character of himſelf and that of his nephew, was ſo highly to the favour of the latter, that a conſpiracy was formed in his camp; from the conſequences of which the Emperor eſcaped almoſt by miracle. The principal Alcaids, ſecretly inclined to favour Muley Achmet, entered into a plot to aſſaſſinate the monarch, who even was ſlightly wounded in the arm by the ball of a muſket, which one of the conſpirators fired. The guilty, however, were ſeized, put to death, and their effects confiſcated by the Emperor. A few of them only eſcaped, who entered into the ſervice of Muley Achmet.

The treachery of the general of Muley Achmet having been at this time diſcovered, by the intelligence the fugitives brought, and various intercepted meſſages, he was put to death, and his body, after being dragged through the city, was denied the rites of ſepulture.

Muley Iſhmael, unable to meet his nephew with equal forces, determined to march beſide Mount Atlas, and there endeavoured to gain over ſome tribes to his party. He paſſed thence toward Santa Cruz, which place had put itſelf under the government of Muley Achmet. Not daring to entangle himſelf among the mountains, he could only ſend letters, hoping, by gentleneſs and promiſes, to regain the city.

The inhabitants of Santa Cruz, who were capable of ſelf-defence, and who abhorred Muley Iſhmael for his various cruelties, returned his letters unanſwered, and even commanded the meſſengers to inform him of the imprecations they uttered on his head. Obliged to diſſemble his reſentment, the Emperor retreated, again marching beſide the mountains, to wait ſome fit opportunity of ſurprizing the enemy.

His march was attended with unexpected ſucceſs; his nephew, having ſuppoſed him at the diſtance of ſeven days journey from Morocco, had ſent a part of his

 forces,

forces, consisting of husbandmen, to gather in the harvest, and remained only with a few soldiers. Muley Ishmael, informed of this, suddenly advanced, and came and pitched his camp within a day's march of Morocco. Muley Achmet hastily assembled the husbandmen of the environs, and, finding himself at the head of twenty-eight thousand men, pitched his camp without the walls of the city.

Muley Ishmael approached the camp of his nephew, where he two days remained, observing the enemy's motions, hoping that the soldiers of Muley Achmet would desert, as the intelligence of some fugitives had led him to suppose. Desirous of coming to action, Muley Achmet made a motion with his army, and Muley Ishmael then began the attack. The nephew, who had made this manoeuvre purposely to bring on a battle, fought with so much valour that he routed the forces of Muley Ishmael, who lost more than three thousand men.

Muley

Muley Achmet, now maſter of the field of battle, had not the prudence to profit by victory; inſtead of purſuing the retreating enemy, his army was employed in rejoicings, which gave Muley Iſhmael time to rally his troops, and come to a ſecond action, in which victory declared in his favour. The forces of his nephew, who little expected again to be attacked ſo ſuddenly, were entirely routed, and the prince, obliged to re-enter Morocco, precipitately abandoned a part of his army, which miſerably periſhed.

Muley Iſhmael then thought proper to blockade the capital, but the ſallies which Muley Achmet occaſionally made obliged him not to approach too near; a greater misfortune for him ſtill was that, his army not being ſufficiently numerous totally to circumvent the city, it received ſupplies with facility, while Muley Iſhmael was himſelf in want, becauſe of the deteſtation in which he was held by the neighbouring people.

Wearied by the length of the ſiege, Muley Iſhmael made propoſitions of peace to his nephew, offering him the vice royalty of Morocco in perpetuity; but the youthful prince, full of courage, proud of paſt ſucceſs, and ſtill prouder of the fidelity of his ſoldiers, haughtily anſwered, that he who thrice had been a king never ſhould conſent to become a ſubject, and that it would be his glory to defend ſovereignty by feats of arms.

Muley Iſhmael next propoſed an interview with him in a neighbouring ſanctuary, whither each of them was to repair, accompanied by ten perſons. Muley Achmet conſented, and was the firſt at the appointed hoſpitium. Muley Iſhmael came, but with perfidious intents; he had commanded a detachment of cavalry to come to his aid, and carry off his nephew.

The interview began by mutual compliments. Muley Iſhmael purpoſely endeavoured to lengthen the conference, that he might obtain time for the arrival of his

horſe;

horſe; but one of the attendants of Muley Achmet, who was upon the watch, perceiving a cloud of duſt at a diſtance, related his ſuſpicions to his maſter, and the young prince accordingly mounted his horſe, and reproached his uncle with cowardice and treachery. Leſs irritated by this juſt obloquy than by the failure of the plot he had contrived, Muley Iſhmael returned to his camp, where he vented his wrath againſt the ſoldiers; a great number of whom forſook him, and went over to Muley Achmet.

Muley Iſhmael attempted once more to cut ſhort this protracted ſiege, by keeping ſpies in the city of Morocco, and making preparations to ſcale the city walls with a ſmall detachment, which was to render itſelf maſter of one of the gates. The project, however, failed; ſome of the moſt determined aſſailants arrived ſafely on the walls; but, having been there encountered by the cuſtomary patrole, and unable to deſcend, becauſe that the ſcaling ladders were taken away, they were cut in pieces.

Muley

Muley Achmet profited by this lesson, and resolved to employ none but those soldiers of whose fidelity he was well assured, in guarding the out-works. He also forbade the inhabitants to assemble, and cut off a number of the Sharifs who were in the city, and who had acted as spies for Muley Ishmael.

The besieged continued to make some sallies, which equally enfeebled both parties. Muley Achmet would himself have been taken by the generals of his uncle, had they not been most fortunately killed by the cannon of the city, at the very moment when it was impossible he should have escaped. Muley Ishmael lost on this occasion his general, Messaoot Gerari, and a confidential Alcaid.

To the length of this siege, and the incertitude of success, was added a still greater cause of vexation; the Emperor had no means of gratifying his troops, that, for sometime past, had received no pay. To extricate himself from this difficulty, in 1677, he invited the Shaik Sidi Semagh, Alcaid of the mountains of Tedla, to come

and pay him a visit; the monarch made him eat with himself, flattered, caressed him, gave him hopes of a still better government, and intreated he would lend him a sum to pay his forces.

Vain of the distinguished manner in which he was treated, and the benevolent intentions of the Emperor, the Shaik sent to his government, and ordered a present of six hundred negroes, of both sexes, eight hundred horses, a thousand camels, four hundred mules and twenty-five quintals of silver, amounting to a hundred and sixty thousand livres *, (or upward of six thousand six hundred pounds), which he intreated the monarch would accept. Muley Ishmael was astonished at the magnificence of the gift; it led him to suppose that this Shaik was still possessed of greater wealth, and, listening

* Twenty-five quintals of silver, according to the former and following estimates of the author, are but a hundred thousand livres; the sum of sixty thousand livres, therefore, is either appropriated to the remainder of the present to which it is apparently inadequate, or there is an error of the press. T.

only

only to his avidity, he arrefted him, under the pretence that he intended to revolt, and fix months after had him beheaded, having firft feized on all his poffeffions, which, indeed, was the only crime of which he could be accufed.

Other Shaiks, coming likewife to vifit Muley Ifhmael with very confiderable prefents, met a like favourable reception; but, terrified by the capricious conduct of the Emperor toward the Shaik of Tedla, they knew not how to interpret all the politenefs he teftified; a thoufand times they reiterated their proteftations of fidelity, which ferved but to difcover the fecret dread by which they were tormented. Artful and treacherous in his nature, Muley Ifhmael turned this embarraffment, which the Shaiks, by their conduct, made vifible, to his own profit, and exacted from them a hundred and fifty quintals of filver, or a million of livres (upward of forty-one thoufand pounds), a number of fheep, oxen, horfes, camels, and a thoufand negroes, of both fexes. The governors did not fail to raife this

this contribution, and esteemed themselves happy in having escaped so well.

Similar extortions, and certain homages, which were voluntarily paid, by some tribes, to the Emperor, enabled him to maintain his army before Morocco, without, however, empowering him to take the city. Muley Achmet, on the contrary, blockaded as he was, found himself exposed to the want of succour, when a happy incident relieved them both from their perplexity.

Muley Haran, king of Tafilet, the brother of Muley Ishmael, uncle and father-in-law to Muley Achmet, beheld with regret these two princes at war with each other, and determined to repair to Morocco, in the hope of being able once more to establish concord. This Sharif was exceedingly well received by Muley Ishmael, whom he promised, a few days after, to enter the city of Morocco, which he accordingly did, and where Muley Achmet received him with all kindness.

Muley

Muley Haran took infinite trouble to pacify his brother and nephew, and, by his repeated efforts with them individually, he, at length, accomplished his wished-for purpose; a treaty was concluded, in which it was stipulated that Muley Achmet should preserve the title of king, but retire to Dara, the sovereignty of which he should possess, that the soldiers attached to this prince should be permitted to leave Morocco, and follow him with arms and baggage, and that Muley Ishmael should pardon the city of Morocco, with each and all of its inhabitants, without entering into any enquiries concerning the origin of, or persons concerned in, this war; to which were added, other articles of reciprocal security.

Muley Achmet, not having consulted the citizens of Morocco concerning this treaty, left the place by night, with all his effects and equipage, and accompanied by the most faithful of his troops, under the pretence of going on some secret expedition.

Informed

Informed on the morrow of the peace concluded between Muley Ishmael and his nephew, the inhabitants of Morocco were in the utmost alarm; the Talbes were deputed by the city, followed by all the children, and preceded by white flags, to implore mercy from the Emperor, who apparently granted them pardon.

The Emperor entered the city, in company with his brother Muley Haran; after which he visited the castle, and there, perceiving that the magazine scarcely contained provisions sufficient for a week, he tore his beard up by the roots in his rage, accused Muley Haran, his brother, of treachery, caused him to be seized in his camp, and sent one of his generals with a large detachment to deprive him of his kingdom of Tafilet. He afterward suffered his troops to enter the city, permitted them to pillage, and commit all kinds of licentiousness, and personally practised every violence, which his own barbarity could inspire, against the principal inhabitants, without respect to his word, his treaty, or the faith of

of that capitulation, on which the city had been yielded.

The actions of Muley Ishmael can only be recollected with horror; his art, his cunning, his falsehood, his contradictions, and all the despicable means he employed to accomplish his desires, betokened a mean soul, incapable of elevation, and by nature ignoble.

Scarcely had he reduced Morocco before he received advice of an insurrection, which had suddenly broken out in the province of Shavoya, and the neighbourhood of Mequinez. The arrival of Mahomet El-Hadgy-Ben-Abdallah, one of the sons of the Alcaid Ben-Buker, who governed this country during the reign of Muley Arshid, gave occasion to this revolt. The Shaik, after making a long abode at Mecca, had journied to Constantinople, there to solicit protection from the Grand Signior, who, accordingly, had commanded the divan of Algiers to grant him succours.

Mahomet

Mahomet El-Hadgy was received in his domains with tranſports of joy; ſo great was the degree of reſpect that he acquired, among the tribes ſcattered over the mountains, that Muley Iſhmael, conceiving the danger to be conſiderable, ſent various detachments, firſt, and afterward marched himſelf, with the remainder of his army. Mahomet El-Hadgy, having more than ſixty thouſand men under his command, little, it is true, inured to war, made the neceſſary diſpoſitions to encounter Muley Iſhmael, who was marching to give him battle.

Arrived at the foot of the mountain with ſome artillery, the Emperor ſo diſpoſed his cavalry that it might attack the enemy when retreating. His troops received the diſcharge of muſketry, arrows, and flings, of this ill-diſciplined army; to which Muley Iſhmael replied by an exploſion from a battery of ten cannon, loaded with balls, which made the inſurgents give ground; the cavalry had time to eſcape, but the infantry, being ſurrounded, was moſt of it put to the

ſword; the Emperor purſued the cavalry with a detachment for three days, and put all to death who fell into his power.

On his return to the camp, he fell ſword in hand upon the women and children, and ſent ten thouſand heads to Fez and Morocco to be fixed upon the walls of thoſe cities, thereby to announce his victory, and ſpread terror throughout the whole empire.

Having thus terminated, by events as fortunate as they were inhuman and deteſtable, a war, which had endured three years, Muley Iſhmael repaired to Mequinez, there to enjoy repoſe. During his abſence, the vaſt palace he had begun had been finiſhed, in which he diſplayed the utmoſt magnificence. On his entrance into this palace, he received viſits from all the grandees of his kingdom, who eagerly came to make him rich preſents.

In full enjoyment, at length, of all the ſweets of eaſe, and voluptuouſneſs of vice, the Emperor indulged himſelf in the native affections of his temperament, and the im-

pulſe of his character. That he might add to the variety of his pleaſures, he daily augmented the number of his concubines; he kept a nurſery of ſlaves, ever agitated by fear, and whom he ill-treated, or cut off, on the ſlighteſt pretext. The domeſtics of his palace, and thoſe Chriſtian ſlaves whom the fate of arms delivered over to the power of his Corſairs, underwent a ſimilar treatment.

Wholly regardleſs of the lives of men, this Emperor made it his paſtime to aſſaſſinate them with his own hand. The days ſet apart for prayer were generally dedicated by him to theſe maſſacres, and thus did he eſtimate his ſacrilegious devotion by the number of his murders.

Turn we our eyes from acts ſo horrid, at which nature ſhudders; the relation of them is to be found in ſo many books that it would be ſuperfluous, here, to add new teſtimonies of the barbarities of tyranny and deſpotiſm.

Afflicted as it had been by a succession of devastations, the empire of Morocco, in 1678, had still new to encounter; the plague, which had been introduced by the communication between Algiers and Tetuan, made dreadful ravages; there are narratives that say this contagion swept away more than four million of people from the empire, which, to me, appears, indeed, very extraordinary. This dreadful scourge of man, the sacrifices which Muley Arshid and Muley Ishmael made to their ambition, their avarice, and wild ferocity, the revolutions which succeeded under Muley Abdallah, and the various other calamities which, beneath a government so arbitrary, continue to destroy the human race, are so many physical and moral causes that account for the present depopulation of the empire.

Notwithstanding the progress of the contagion, which spread still more fatally in the northern parts, the Alcaids of the environs of Tangiers made various attempts on that town, which, at that time, was under the dominion of England. The Alcaid of Alcassar, Amar-Hadoo, in the month of

March, made himſelf maſter of two ſmall advanced forts, in which he ſurprized twenty ſoldiers, and ſeized a ſingle braſs cannon, on which was the arms of Portugal.

Conducted to Mequinez with much pomp, and diſplayed as a trophy, Muley Iſhmael himſelf left the city, attended by a numerous train, to go and receive this cannon. Thrice he proſtrated himſelf to earth, thanking God for the firſt victory he had gained over the Chriſtians. The Alcaid, Amar-Hadoo, was made viceroy of the province of Garb.

This ſame year the Emperor determined to leave Mequinez; the plague committed its ravages in the environs of the city, and he himſelf was inwardly devoured by that ſpirit of inquietude which was irreconcilable to ſo long a repoſe. He went to paſs the hot ſeaſon among the mountains, in the neighbourhood of Atlas, on the banks of the Mulluvia, whence he ſent to demand contributions from the neighbouring Brebes. Theſe mountaineers, favoured as they were

by ſituation, refuſed to obey the commands of the Emperor; and he, finding himſelf unable to ſubject them by force of arms, diſſembled his reſentment, and thought proper to reſt ſatisfied with ſuch tribute as they ſhould think proper to pay.

About this time there was an inſurrection at Tafilet, which was raiſed by Muley Haran, the brother of the Emperor, whom he had ſtripped of ſovereign power. Muley Iſhmael, having repaired thither, routed the inſurgents, and reſtored tranquillity to that part of his empire. Toward the end of the year, leaving Tafilet, he marched beſide Mount Atlas to exact contributions from the Brebes, who were diſperſed among the mountains. The tribes that were unable to oppoſe him by force of arms ſubmitted, and paid what he required; but thoſe that, by their ſituation, were able to reſiſt him, oppoſed his will with ſo much reſolution that the Emperor was, not only obliged to renounce his enterprize, but, endeavour to make them his friends, promiſing to leave them in tranquillity.

This solemn promise was guaranteed by the sacrifice of a camel, slain at the foot of the mountain, as a pledge of the faith of Muley Ishmael. Thus secured, the chiefs left their mountains to salute the Emperor, and offer him their presents; and they, also, in turn, received presents on his part. These people hold such kind of sacrifices in so much reverence that it is the attestation of mutual confidence, which is employed as a means to calm the anger of the monarch; or make peace, when any cause of rancour exists among themselves.

Although it is customary among the Moors to offer up sacrifices to God, in gratitude for favours bestowed, and afterward to distribute the animals thus sacrificed among the poor, I do not think such oblations ought to be confounded with the sacrifice performed on this occasion by Muley Ishmael, and which often are offered up by the different Moorish tribes to calm or dispel their intestine quarrels. Such sacrifices should, I apprehend, be considered as solemn vows, which are not to be violated: this is a custom made sacred by ages, known in

times more remote than the birth of Mahometanifm, and, perhaps, peculiar to the nations of Africa. From Livy we learn that Hannibal, on the eve of giving battle to Scipio, on the banks of the Po, after making many promifes to the foldiers of his army, to encourage them to fight valorouſly, took a lamb, and intreated Jupiter and the heavenly deities, that, ſhould he break his promife, he might himfelf periſh, as that lamb was about to periſh. The foldiers, adds the hiſtorian, received the promifed hope, as if it had been fent from the Gods themfelves *.

The valour with which theſe mountaineers had firſt refiſted Muley Iſhmael inſpired all the people of the neighbourhood with courage, which, however, could not make him deſiſt. Impelled by the hope of booty, he raſhly entered among the mountains, without ſufficiently foreſeeing all the dangers of the enterprize. Endeavouring to terrify theſe Brebes, who lived in brutal

* Liv. lib. XXI.

ignorance,

ignorance, he threatened he would give them to the Chriſtians to eat alive, of whom they had formed fanciful and monſtrous pictures; but this terror had little effect, when they beheld, as they themſelves ſaid, that a Chriſtian had the head, the body, the arms, and the legs, of a man.

The army of the Emperor was detained among the mountains by ſnow, which had cloſed up the roads, and might have expoſed it to periſh with famine. However, he opened himſelf paſſages among theſe precipices, and abandoned his camp to a detachment, which, that it might not miſerably periſh with cold and hunger, afterward abandoned it alſo. In this campaign, Muley Iſhmael loſt about three thouſand tents, the wealth that he had amaſſed, and a part of his army, the rear guard of which was harraſſed by the mountaineers, who took the baggage.

Having gained the plain of Morocco, the Emperor there was joined by the Baſhaw Seroni, who waited for him at the head of the troops of that province. This reinforcement

ment ſo far recruited his army, that he was enabled to grant repoſe to the ſoldiers, who had eſcaped this unfortunate expedition.

Humbled by his imprudence, Muley Iſhmael ſlowly returned toward Mequinez, and put to death his Viſir, Abdaraman Fileli. Abuſing the power committed to him by the monarch, this miniſter had indulged himſelf, during the abſence of Iſhmael, in every kind of prevarication, violating the moſt ſacred rights, without reſpecting even the wives of the principal Moors, who accuſed him publicly in perſon. After breaking the arm of this man with a piſtol ſhot, Muley Iſhmael commanded him to be dragged through his camp, ſewed up in the hide of an ox.

All the perſons in the train of this viſir were put to death, as accomplices of his extortions, and the abuſe of his authority, during the abſence of the Emperor. This ſeverity, which preſents a picture of the violence of arbitrary government, was, perhaps, equally criminal on the part of the prince

prince with the guilty acts his visir had committed.

Here it is proper to observe that the monarchs of Morocco, desirous to imitate the Ottoman court, have sometimes had visirs; but such eminent situations, in this empire, have neither the same splendor nor the same power as those at Constantinople. Authority cannot be delegated, except when it is founded on rational principles, which it is not in a government truely and absolutely despotic, where each act depends on the arbitrary will of one man. A visir, of Morocco, is called by the same title occasionally there as in Turkey; but equal puissance he never can enjoy.

Muley Ishmael arrived at Mequinez at the feast of sacrifices, whither he had convoked all the grandees, who hastened to bring him presents; for, at that court, the visit and the present are not only paid together, but, it is, in some measure, admissible to delay the visit, provided care is taken only to send the present.

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The ambitious projects of Muley Ishmael, and the various difficulties he had to encounter in the beginning of his reign, made him suppose the necessity of maintaining a body of confidential troops; he therefore conceived the project of forming a corps of negro soldiers, that should immediately be under his command. To accomplish this the more quickly, exclusive of the negroes that Muley Arshid already had collected, he purchased himself a great number of blacks, male and female, and accustomed his grandees to send them as presents.

After marrying and setting apart territories for their habitations, he gave a degree of stability to this generation of slaves, educated them in the Mahometan religion, accustomed them to the use of arms, and made soldiers of them, who became formidable to the natives. A monarch so absolute, and so capricious, as was Muley Ishmael, had good reason to fear the fickleness and discontent of his enslaved subjects, whom his violent conduct must continually render liable to revolt, and who could not be kept peaceable

peaceable but by overawing them with troops, whose interest should also be the interest of the despot.

In this precise situation were the negroes. They were despised by the Moors, as well because of the prejudice entertained concerning their colour, which the white men have every where consigned to slavery, as because of the idolatrous worship they maintained *. They also were foreigners. While fighting for the glory of their master, they fulfilled their military duty, and at the same time took vengeance for the hatred in which they were held by the Moors. By this artful policy, and the rivalship which Muley Ishmael knew how to raise between his soldiers and his subjects, this monarch found the means of holding in subjection, during a long reign, all the provinces of an empire accustomed to a change of masters, and which otherwise

* The negroes adore the Sun, and even mingle this adoration with Mahometanism ; although this, of all errors, is the most pardonable, the Moors do not the less regard it as idolatrous.

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the barbarity of the prince must soon or late have obliged to rebel.

After having exercised his negroes in military dicipline, the Emperor, that he might add to the strength of men the power of superstition, consecrated them, with ceremony, to the prosperity of religion. Following the example of the Sultan Amurath, who, when he formed the corps of Janizaries, sent them to Hadgy Bectasch *, that he might bestow his benediction on them, Muley Ishmael appointed his negroes as a patron, and the signal of rallying, Sidi Boccari, one of the commentators of the Koran, on which book he made them take the oath of allegiance. This book, from that time, was, and is still, carried respectfully in the army. It is deposited in a distinguished tent, placed in the centre of the camp, as the image of their worship, and the pledge of their fidelity.

* Hadgi Bectasch, a Saint, in estimation among the Turks, and the founder of the Dervises, cut the sleeve from a felt robe which he wore, that it might serve as a model for the bonnet of the Janissaries.

*Herbelot Bib. Orien.*

All

All the troops act under the same auspices, but none, except the blacks, the Ludaya, or other tribes, destined personally to guard the Emperor, obtain the surname of El-Boccari, which is thus meant to signify those soldiers who are immediately in the service of the prince; that is to say, who constitute the standing army. This negro corps, from that time, became the individual guard of Muley Ishmael, nor did he ever find guards more faithful. His successors, though they have made some reforms, have nearly followed the same plan.

After the monarch had quieted those troubles, by which his empire had been distracted, he was seized with a passion for building, and the embellishment of his palace became his amusement. Indulging his own instability of temper, and having in the beginning no fixed plan, what he built one day he would pull down the next, giving himself the plans of the works he would have executed. In dedicating himself to this employment, the barbarian found

more

more frequent occaſions of indulging his cruelties; theſe, indeed, he made his ſport.

Chriſtian ſlaves, or other workmen, employed in executing his commands, often fell the victims of his blood-thirſty caprices. If the bricks they made were found too ſmall, they were broken upon the head of the brickmaker. The workmen all were puniſhed, either by pecuniary mulcts, or by chaſtiſements analogous to their profeſſion. Still further to diverſify his amuſements, and render his idleneſs more ſupportable, he ſent for various lions, which he ordered to be encloſed in a park; and to theſe he occaſionally delivered the poor wretches he ſelected, finding an inhuman pleaſure in being a ſpectator of the combat.

In the beginning of April, 1680, Muley Iſhmael, ever the enemy of tranquillity, ſent forces, under the Alcaid Amar-Hadoo, to lay ſiege to Tangiers. This general made himſelf maſter of a ſmall fort, garriſoned by forty men, who, finding it impoſſible they ſhould receive ſuccour from

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the town, rather chose to capitulate than to expose themselves to perish, by defending their post.

The governor of fort Charles, also, perceiving he could not long defend himself for want of provisions, determined to abandon this fort, and, with his troops, to reinforce the garrison of the castle. Having concerted his retreat with the commander of the castle, he cut his way through the intrenchments of the Moors. Of seventy men who had garrisoned fort Charles, and had made this desperate sally, about forty were saved, and attained the castle; the rest were either taken, or killed. The commander had undermined fort Charles, and blew it up. The Moors took eighteen cannon, which had been spiked, and were therefore rendered useless. Muley Ishmael made great rejoicings for this success.

In the same year, the Chevalier de Chateau Renaud, the commander of a French fleet, appeared in the road of Sallee with ten ships of war. His intent was to

block up this port, and endeavour to make an advantageous peace. The Alcaid Amar-Hadoo, viceroy of Garb, whofe duty it was to negotiate with him in the abfence of the Emperor, had feveral conferences with the perfons fent by the French commander. Thefe negotiations, however, were all fruitlefs, and tended to no other purpofe than that of multiplying prefents, and increafing expences, according to the cuftom of the court of Morocco, where they will promife any thing, but where no affairs can be brought to a conclufion.

The Emperor, at this time, had marched toward Tremecen, there to chaftife the mountaineers who had granted an afylum to his fugitive brothers. He received homage from the tribes inhabiting the leffer Atlas: they made their excufes for having granted the refuge, by which he was offended, and, without difficulty, paid the contributions he thought proper to impofe.

As the Moors of Tremecen had often demanded affiftance from Muley Ifhmael

againſt the Turks of Algiers, who were in poſſeſſion of that city, he wiſhed himſelf to examine the condition in which it was; but he found it ſo well guarded, and in ſo good a ſtate of defence, that he ſaw no hope of a ſucceſsful enterpriſe. The Divan of Algiers penetrated his intentions, and wrote to him that, if he thought the limits by which they were ſeparated ſomewhat too confined, he muſt impoſe it as a duty on himſelf, to extend them (i. e. remove himſelf) far even as from the Ocean to the Deſert. Muley Iſhmael received this letter, ſtruck his tents, and returned no other anſwer than that of marching back toward Mequinez.

Having re-entered his capital, the pleaſure he took in building again revived, and, under the pretence of enlarging and aggrandizing his palace, he alternately built up and pulled down; partly to indulge the inconſtancy of his temper, and partly to occupy thoſe about his perſon. He remarked, with great acuteneſs, meaning to picture the reſtleſsneſs of men, and, perhaps, to juſtify his own, that, "were a

" number of rats put into a baſket, they " would certainly eat their way out, " unleſs the baſket were continually " ſhaken."

Toward the end of the year 1680, Muley Achmet, the nephew of Muley Iſhmael, who had three years before retired from Morocco with the title of King of Dara, having entered into an alliance with a Shaik, of the kingdom of Suz, whoſe daughter he had married, aided by the advice and troops of his father-in-law, aſſumed the title of King of Suz. The intention of this prince, whoſe delight was only in war, was to invade the kingdom of Sudan, he having been promiſed aid by the Arabs of the deſert.

Having aſſembled his forces, and collected the proviſions neceſſary for croſſing the deſert, which ſeparates the principality of Suz from the kingdom of Sudan, Muley Achmet began his march, and was joined by the Arabs of the neighbouring provinces. His army ſuffered much for want of water, and he loſt about fifteen hundred men

men among the moving ſands, which he was obliged to croſs, and which, in this deſert, vary their form according to the variations of the wind.

Muley Achmet, at length, arrived in Sudan, and layed ſiege to Tagaret, the capital of that kingdom. The negroes, who were ſhut up in the city, made ſome reſiſtance; but, having only lances and javelins to oppoſe to fire arms, their defence was ineffectual, and the place ſurrendered at diſcretion, when it was on the eve of being ſtormed. The riches Tagaret contained were ſufficient to load fifty camels: a great part of them conſiſted in gold duſt.

Muley Achmet agreed that the ſon of the king of Sudan ſhould give him ten thouſand negro ſlaves, for his ranſom, and that they ſhould be ſent to the frontiers of his ſtates; which agreement was accordingly executed. After concluding this treaty, Muley Achmet returned toward Suz, and underwent his former difficulties in traverſing the deſert, where many of his

followers perished, and where he lost several camels that bore a part of the riches he had taken. Once more safely arrived at Tarudant, he sent messengers to Muley Ishmael, his uncle, announcing the success of his expedition, and with them a number of slaves, of both sexes, as a present.

Muley Ishmael, ever forming new projects, and having no other amusement at Mequinez than what his wives and concubines, his buildings, and the exercise of his cruelties, could afford, wearied at this uniformity of life, undertook, in 1681, the conquest of the castle of Mamora, which was in the power of the Spaniards. Informed, by a fugitive, how entirely the place had been neglected, since the death of Philip IV., and that the garrison was daily weakened, by those diseases which the humidity of the marshes were the causes of, the Emperor sent an order to the Alcaid Amar-Hadoo to assemble the troops in the province of Garb, and invest the castle.

Arrived before Mamora, that general soon destroyed the lines, which were formed

formed only of ſtakes and paliſadoes. He likewiſe took two towers, facing the ſea, in which there were only twelve men, who, unequal to ten thouſand, capitulated, on condition their lives ſhould be ſaved. The general did more; he granted them their liberty, ſent them into the place, and bade them inform the governor and the garriſon, that, if they did not yield, they would all be put to the ſword on the arrival of Muley Iſhmael. The very name of this man ſo diſcouraged the ſoldiers that they rather choſe to encounter the loſs of liberty, than to expoſe themſelves to his barbarity, by defending a place ſo ill provided. In this extremity the governor ſaw himſelf obliged to ſurrender, and the garriſon were made priſoners of war.

Muley Iſhmael, who was encamped in the environs of Alcaſſar, received advice of the capitulation of Mamora, and marched thither on the morrow. Finding in the place near one hundred pieces of artillery, numerous arms, and much ammunition, he proſtrated himſelf to earth, and returned thanks to the Almighty for this

 conqueſt.

conqueſt. From this time, ambitious of ſeizing other places on the coaſt, he ſent the governor of Mamora to Laracha, there to inform the commander, and garriſon, they ſhould be treated with the utmoſt rigour, if they refuſed to ſurrender.

In the month of June, and the ſame year, the Chevalier de Chateau Renaud anchored once more in the road of Sallee, with a ſquadron of four ſhips; and, having deſtroyed ſome Corſairs, Muley Iſhmael ſent orders to Amar-Hadoo to conclude a truce. This negotiation, which was one continued chain of contradictions, not being brought to a concluſion, the Emperor reſolved to ſend the Hadgi Themin, governor of Tetuan, and Caſſem Menino, brother to the governor of Sallee, ambaſſadors, into France, on board the royal ſquadron.

Theſe Ambaſſadors arrived at Paris toward the end of December. It was the intention of Muley Iſhmael to equivocate; their miſſion, therefore, went no farther than to announce the deſire of, without

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the power to conclude, peace. Every delay, of which this negotiation was ſuſceptible, and every new impediment, being an additional motive for new preſents, Muley Iſhmael was eager to renew the conferences.

The Emperor, conſtitutionally ambitious, and admiring the ſplendour of the reign of Louis XIV., who ſingly reſiſted Europe, leagued againſt him, appeared deſirous of concluding a treaty of peace with this monarch. He therefore wrote to Louis XIV., requeſting he would commit the negotiation to a confidential perſon, with whom he might treat, offering likewiſe to ſend an ambaſſador himſelf, ſhould that be agreeable to the king.

In conſequence of this invitation, Monſieur de St. Olon made a voyage to Mequinez, as ambaſſador of France, which had no other effect than that of demonſtrating the inſtability of the court of Morocco, and the ambiguous character of Muley Iſhmael. Eager to ſeize on the preſents ſent by the court of France, the Emperor

eluded, by various ſpecious pretexts, the motives of an embaſſy which he diſavowed, although it had been made at his own requeſt *.

Much about this time the Engliſh parliament, diſguſted with the expence of maintaining Tangiers, from which the nation had imagined it ſhould derive great advantages, and which, inſtead of profitable, was found burdenſome, reſolved to abandon the place. Conſequently, in 1684, the Engliſh withdrew their garriſon, ſtores, and artillery, and blew up the mole, and the fortifications which had been conſtructed by Charles II. This was new cauſe of triumph to Muley Iſhmael, who affected to ſuppoſe that England had forſaken Tangiers, and reſtored it to him, from the dread they entertained of his arms.

Glorying in the conqueſt of Mamora, and the abandoning of Tangiers, the Emperor made preparations, in 1687, to be-

* Memoires de M. de St. Olon.

ſiege

ſiege Laracha. After the neceſſary ſtores were collected, he marched, and laid ſiege to the place; in the following year he erected batteries on the ſouth ſide, and blockaded it by land. The town reſiſted his aſſaults during five months, but, at length, capitulated in 1689. It appears that the garriſon remained the priſoners of Muley Iſhmael, and was only allowed to be exchanged, on condition of reſtoring ten Moors for one Chriſtian.

Thus having the towns of Mamora, Laracha, and Tangiers, in his power, the next attempt of Muley Iſhmael was to take Ceuta. In 1694 he aſſembled more than forty thouſand men, and layed ſiege to this fortreſs; but, perceiving he ſhould be unable to vanquiſh it, unleſs he could render himſelf ſuperior by ſea, he contented himſelf with blockading it on the land ſide, and ſecuring his camp from ſurprize.

There were ſome ſkirmiſhes between the Moors and the Chriſtians, when the Spaniards made occaſional ſallies, but the loſs on both ſides was inconſiderable. The

Moors

Moors being, however, greatly diſturbed by the bombs and grenadoes, which were thrown from the town, Muley Iſhmael thought proper to encamp at a greater diſtance. He afterward left the command of his army to the viceroy of Garb, who merely lay a ſpectator of, without beſieging, Ceuta.

The wars which happened in Spain at the beginning of the preſent century, after the death of Charles II., gave Muley Iſhmael the hope of conquering the place with leſs difficulty. He therefore fortified the Mooriſh camp, erected houſes for the commanders of his forces, huts for the ſoldiers, ordered the ſiege to be begun anew, and the place never to be forſaken.

The Moors had languidly lain more than twenty years before Ceuta, when Philip V. of Spain determined to drive them to a greater diſtance. In 1720 this prince ſent an army thither, under the command of the Marquis of Leda, accompanied by a number of gallies and ſhips.

The

The Spanish army attacked the centre of the Moors, while the ships bombarded the wings, and with so much success that the Moors were thrown into disorder. The Marquis pursued his advantage with so much ardour that, in four hours, he not only drove them from their intrenchments, but also from one valley to another, without their daring to make further resistance. When the Spaniards returned to the Moorish camp, they found four Mortars, some pieces of artillery, four pair of colours, and many stores.

I have interrupted the order of the history of Muley Ishmael that I might present, under one point of view, all the attempts of that Emperor against Ceuta. Although the Moors, after his reign, never made any attack upon this town, their camp of observation has continued to exist, and, in despite of the good understanding which has lately been reciprocal, between the court of Spain and that of Morocco, the intercourse, between the camp of the Moors and the town of Ceuta, is mutually maintained with circumspection.

Not

Not by devaſtations, conqueſts, and ambitious projects alone, was the empire of Morocco, under Muley Iſhmael, agitated: as he advanced in years, his ſons whoſe numbers, ambition, and turbulence of character, led to new revolutions, and the commiſſion of new crimes, made him ſenſible, in the beginning of the preſent century, of all thoſe cares and vexations which he well might expect, from that reſtleſſneſs, and ferocity, of which he had given them an example.

Independent of the influence which the young princes began to acquire over provinces, the ſubjects of which, groaning beneath oppreſſion, were ever ready to change their maſter, domeſtic ambition, likewiſe, gave birth to domeſtic troubles. Secret intrigues were carried on by the wives of the Emperor, each of whom endeavoured to favour the intereſt of her own ſon, to the prejudice of the other brothers, and the provinces which theſe princes governed long ſuffered from their factions, and the perſonal animoſities with which ſuch factions were maintained.

Muley

Muley Mahomet, who, of all the ſons of Muley Iſhmael, moſt merited to be beloved, by the qualities he poſſeſſed, and the handſomeneſs of his perſon, was the one who gave his father the moſt chagrin. His mother was a Georgian, purchaſed at Algiers, who, by her accompliſhments and beauty, had acquired ſome empire over the heart of this barbarous monarch. The pre-eminence he held in the public opinion had rendered Muley Mahomet audacious, and, regardleſs of the ſacred aſylum of the palace, conſulting only the headſtrong and illegitimate paſſions of youth, had entered the ſeraglio of his father, to the intrigues and violences of which he fell a ſacrifice. A fate that the more certainly attends ſuch intruders, becauſe that theſe intrigues are carried on in ſilence and ſecreſy.

One of the queens *, of negro origin, the mother of Muley Zidan, ambitious and

* In Morocco they indifferently give the name of queen, and that of Lela, or Lady, to the wives of the Emperor; whom they call Ladies only, and not queens, in the Seraglio of the Grand Signior.

intriguing,

intriguing, and who, by the art with which ſhe could enflame the paſſions, ſhared the depraved heart of Muley Iſh-mael, determined to effect the deſtruction both of her rival and her rival's ſon, and, by this means, aſſertain the affection of the father for Muley Zidan. This queen, by her influence, and the natural aſcendancy of her character, had acquired an authority over the other women, who, like herſelf, were jealous of the Emperor's partiality for the Georgian; ſhe therefore induced them to conſpire with her, confirm the ſuſpicions ſhe had raiſed of infidelity, and they thus obtained from Muley Iſh-mael, in an atrocious moment of love and rage, permiſſion to have her ſtrangled.

Grown cool, and left to reflection, the Emperor was much affected by her death, and his attachment for Muley Mahomet was increaſed. In order to remove him from the intrigues of Lela Zidana, whoſe powers of ſeduction he himſelf dreaded, he beſtowed on him the government of Tafilet. This prince, who was governor of Fez, and who preferred that city as a place

place of reſidence, eluded his departure, under a pretence of illneſs. His father, unwilling to control his repugnance, agreed to ſend him into the province of Suz to Muley Sharif, who had ſucceeded Muley Achmet.

Muley Mahomet had been but a ſhort time in his government before, according to the Emperor's deſire, he appeaſed inſurrections raiſed near Tarudant, and the ſucceſs of the prince, on this occaſion, became the cauſe of his misfortunes.

Lela Zidana, who, with vexation, beheld that the conduct of Muley Mahomet gave him a farther claim over the affections of his father, ſet every poſſible engine in play to accompliſh his deſtruction. She wrote a letter to the prince, to which ſhe affixed the imperial ſignet, and therein commanded him to put a Shaik to death, who was moſt highly in the favour of the Emperor. The prince executed the order he received moſt reluctantly. Being ſummoned to Mequinez, there to juſtify him-

ſelf concerning the death of the Shaik, he preſented his father's letter, to which he had only paid obedience out of reſpect to the will of the Emperor.

Beholding his power thus abuſed, Muley Iſhmael, at firſt, was furious; but Lela Zidana ſo ſucceſsfully employed her arts that he ſent back his ſon to Tarudant, and rewarded the children of the Shaik to recompenſe them for the loſs of their father.

Muley Mahomet, after having been ſummoned to Mequinez, there to anſwer an accuſation ſo malicious and ſo wicked, was inconſolable to behold the facility with which his father gave way to firſt impreſſions, and, knowing no means of counteracting the plots of Lela Zidana, whom he held in abhorrence, he raſhly entertained projects of rebellion. Muley Iſhmael, by letters he received, judged what were his ſon's intents; but, having undertaken an expedition againſt the regency of Algiers, and being on the eve of departure, he would not change his plan.

The

The monarch began his march, toward the commencement of the preſent century, with more than ſixty thouſand men; the army of the Algerines ſcarcely exceeded ten thouſand, but it was compoſed of much better troops, and encamped itſelf on the frontiers, there to wait for the army of Muley Iſhmael, which, when it arrived, was harraſſed by fatigue, and in want of all neceſſaries. The Algerines began the attack with intrepidity, and without loſs of time; the army of the Emperor was routed, and Muley Iſhmael, who, for more than thirty years, had fought againſt the Moors with unfailing ſucceſs, was obliged to retire, and re-enter his ſtates, after an ignominious battle.

Muley Mahomet took advantage of the impreſſion which the defeat of his father had made on the minds of his ſubjects, to render himſelf maſter of Morocco. He marched thither with near forty thouſand men, whoſe fidelity was ſecured by the perſonal qualities, fine figure, and bravery of their leader. The capital at that time was governed by the Alcaid Melek, who

ſhut the city gates, diſpatched meſſengers to the king for ſuccour, and cauſed the treaſure of the palace to be ſecretly buried.

Muley Mahomet, who had no artillery, found it impoſſible to take Morocco, unleſs by ſurpriſe; he therefore divided his army into two corps, the one of which concealed itſelf near the city, while he began his march with the other as if retreating. Deceived by this ſtratagem, as the prince had foreſeen, the Alcaid Melek made a ſally with his forces to attack Muley Mahomet as he retired; and the other corps, leaving its place of concealment, fell upon the Alcaid in the rear, who was thus ſurrounded, and his army, in part, ſlaughtered, while the prince rendered himſelf maſter of the city. Muley Mahomet indulged his troops in pillage, as a reward for their valour, and ſeized himſelf on the treaſures, buried by the Alcaid, which were immediately diſcovered to him by a young ſlave.

I          Muley

Muley Iſhmael, on receiving the advice ſent by the Alcaid of Morocco, ordered an army to march to the ſuccour of that city, under the command of Muley Zidan, the ſon of that artful queen, who, by her faſcinations, her intrigues, and plots, had occaſioned the rebellion of Muley Mahomet. The latter prince, informed of his brother's march, retired to Tarudant, where he provided for his ſafety. Among his officers was an Alcaid, the kinſman of Lela Zidana, who informed the court of all tranſactions, and who, having been diſcovered, was beheaded.

When Muley Mahomet had aſſembled ſufficient money and troops, he determined to march againſt Muley Zidan, who had a fine army. Muley Mahomet gave the command of his van to the Alcaid Melek, the former governor of Morocco, who had entered into his ſervice. Melek ſuffered himſelf to be ſurrounded by the troops of Muley Zidan, which occaſioned the loſs of the battle.

Seeing the van of his army in the power of the enemy, Muley Mahomet was obliged to fly. The prisoners were conducted to Morocco, whence the chiefs were sent to the Emperor, who put them to tormenting deaths. The Alcaid Melek himself, who had been guilty of treachery only thereby to obtain pardon, was sacrificed to the vengeance of Lela Zidana. She would not forgive him for having, by order of the prince, beheaded her relation, who had acted as a spy. To render cruelty more infernal, this unhappy man was fixed to a board, and sawed down the back.

Muley Zidan, encouraged by victory, and the flight of Muley Mahomet, determined to march and besiege Tarudant; but having been repulsed in various sallies, made by the besieged, he was obliged to retire. Every artifice of treachery was then employed by this prince to ensnare his brother, and to corrupt his partisans. Having placed some troops in ambuscade to seize on him, one day, as he rode out, Muley Mahomet, notwithstanding all his efforts, was

was taken and brought priſoner to Morocco, whence he was ſent by Muley Zidan, under a ſtrong guard, to the Emperor, in the year 1706.

After having afflicted the reader by an uninterrupted ſucceſſion of crimes and cruelties, I would it were in my power to omit ſcenes ſtill more tragical, and, under an impenetrable veil, to conceal the atrocious acts of a violent and barbarous father, toward a raſh, unfortunate, and guilty ſon.

Muley Mahomet approached Mequinez on his journey, when the Emperor went to meet him at the river of Beth, there to puniſh his rebellion, and avoid all interceſſions in his behalf. I ſhall ſuppreſs the ſhocking preparations which Muley Iſhmael made for the ferocious exerciſe of vengeance. They both arrived on the banks of the Beth on the ſame day. The Emperor paſſed four-and-twenty hours without admitting him to his preſence; when he, at length, ſent for him, the prince fell proſtrate to the earth, and ſup-

plicated pardon for his errors in the moſt affecting terms. His father preſented him the point of his lance, and the prince, fearing death leſs than thoſe preparations which did but multiply its horrors *, again humbly conjured him to grant him pardon, and ever after to depend on his ſubmiſſion and fidelity.

The inflexible Iſhmael, who had ſo far forgotten all human pity as to be preſent at the puniſhment of his ſon, and the ſon whom he had moſt loved, commanded two men to ſeize him, and a third, a butcher, to cut off his right hand. The latter refuſed, preferring, as he ſaid, death to the ſacrilegious act of bathing his hand in the blood of a Sharif. Enraged at a ſentiment ſo generous, the Emperor ſtruck off the head of the butcher, and called another,

* Father Buſnot informs us that the Emperor was preceded by a guard of two thouſand horſe, and one thouſand foot; that fourteen Chriſtian ſlaves carried a cauldron, a hundred weight of tar, or pitch, and as much oil and tallow; and that they were followed by a cart load of wood, and ſix butchers, each with his knife in his hand. T.

who

who executed his will by cutting off the right hand, and the right foot, of the unfortunate prince.

"Now, doſt thou know thy father, wretch!" ſaid Iſhmael.

He then ſeized a muſket, and killed the Moor who had cut off the hand and foot of his ſon. Mahomet, groaning under pain as he was, could not forbear to remind him of the guilty inconſiſtency of a ſovereign, who equally murdered the man, who refuſed to execute his orders, and him who obeyed. Pitch was then applied to the leg and arm of the ſuffering prince as a ſtyptic, and the Emperor, ſtained with the blood of his ſon, commanded his guards to bring him living, under pain of inſtant execution, to Mequinez.

The recital of this tragical ſcene ſpread terror and conſternation through the city; the palace reſounded with lamentaions, groans, and ſhrieks, and Muley Iſhmael, unable to aſſuage their grief by the ſeverity of his orders, maſſacred ſeveral women who

who had dared to disobey, till sorrow, at length, was obliged to weep in silence.

The children of Muley Mahomet only were allowed to mourn, but were not admitted any more to see their father. The prince lived thirteen days in torments, and demanded to be buried, not as a prince, but as a slave, for so he had been treated by his father. Ishmael, however, built him a mausoleum, and thereby preserved to posterity a memento of his own barbarity.

After the defeat of his rival, Muley Zidan, with little internal cause of happiness, returned to Tarudant once more to besiege that city, in which the remainder of the revolted had shut themselves up, which he surrounded so entirely that famine made dreadful ravages among the citizens, and it was obliged to surrender at discretion. More ferocious, more avaricious, more inhuman, even than his very father, Muley Zidan, committed every kind of barbarity in Tarudant, and, by his cruelties, justified the opinion entertained of him in his youth, that in him all the vices of the human heart were united.

The

The horrors, robberies, and maſſacres, commited by Muley Zidan in the city of Tarudant, being publiſhed, ſo terrified the Moors of the neighbouring provinces and towns, that they fled for refuge among the rocks, and no where ſuppoſed themſelves in ſafety. The town of Santa-Cruz was at the ſame time evacuted, that is to ſay, in 1712; and when this prince marched thither, to beſiege it, he found no perſon but an old woman and a blind Jew, who, becauſe of their infirmities, were unable to ſeek a hiding place. The ſoldiers of the prince finding no further reſiſtance, the Moors every where flying, enriched themſelves with pillage, and were indulged in every kind of licentiouſneſs.

The ſucceſs of Muley Zidan, his troops, and his treaſures, began highly to diſturb Muley Iſhmael, who was inceſſantly preyed upon by his paſſions; the Emperor repented ſomewhat too late that he had beſtowed the command of his army on his ſon, and invented various pretexts to recal him to Mequinez; but Muley Zidan, who meditated far other projects, delayed his

his return from year to year, alledging that his preſence was ſtill neceſſary, totally to ſubdue the inſurgents.

The better to deceive his ſon, Muley Iſhmael occaſioned a report to be ſpread that he was ill, and forbore to appear in public, at the ſame time that he prevailed on the mother of Muley Zidan artfully to ſend for her ſon to Mequinez, in order that, in caſe of death, he might the more eaſily poſſeſs himſelf of the government; but the prince, well acquainted with all the ſubtleties of his father, ſuſpected the intelligence, and paid no attention to this advice. His mother wrote a ſecond letter, telling him, that his father was at the point of death, and that, if he did not incontinently return, he would be too late to pay the laſt duties of a ſon. Whether my father live or die, replied the prince, I will not forſake the army, which, in caſe of his deceaſe, will but the better aſcertain my ſucceſſion.

The rumours of the illneſs of Muley Iſhmael, and the fear that he was in reality dead,

dead, gave rife to fome commotions in the provinces. The citizens of Mequinez were ripe for revolt, when Lela Zidana, who governed defpotically, under the pretence of the Emperor's illnefs, fallied from the palace with a lance in her hand, attended by a guard of armed foldiers, to re-efta-blifh tranquillity, and even arrogantly commanded fome negroes, whom fhe encountered as fhe paffed, to be punifhed.

An event fo fingular, among a people where the women never appear in public, and under a government in which they are fuppofed to have no right to empire, aftonifhed the citizens, who, believing the king dead, imagined that this ambitious princefs, whom they fecretly detefted, intended to feize on the fovereign authority. This fuppofition fpread fo quickly, and excited fo great an alarm, that Lela Zidana was obliged to re-enter the palace.

The Emperor, who had not been feen in public during fifty days, informed of the commotion among the inhabitants of the city, inftantly left his retreat, and over-
awed

awed the people by his presence, who testifyed the satisfaction they received to behold him alive. The pretended recovery of Muley Ishmael was the cause of public rejoicings, and he received the visits of the Alcaids, the grandees, and deputies of provinces and towns, on the occasion, who brought with them the customary presents.

Highly regretting that he had not been able, by artifice, to inveigle Muley Zidan to Mequinez, the Emperor, consulting only the violence and ferocity of his character, now took other means to disencumber himself of this prince. He well knew how much he was addicted to drunkenness, and that, in the fury of intoxication, he so far abandoned himself to his cruelty that his very wives and concubines were not in safety. These he made his instruments to obtain his purpose. The wives of Muley Zidan had little reluctance in complying with the barbarous desire of Muley Ishmael, for they had no other possible means of freeing themselves from the tyranny to which they were hourly subjected.

jected. Surrounding him in one of his fits of drunkenneſs, they ſmothered Muley Zidan between two mattreſſes, and thus delivered the world of a monſter unequalled in depravity.

The body of the prince was taken from Tarudant to Mequinez by the command of his mother, and there interred. The Emperor, that he might conceal the part he had taken in his death, built a mauſoleum, and a moſque, to his memory, in which an aſylum is given to criminals; and thus, under a ſuppoſed idea of ſanctity, is the memory of a prince held in veneration, who had abandoned himſelf to every vice, lived deteſted by the nation, a rebel to his father and his Emperor, and, contemning the laws of his religion, died in drunkenneſs.

After being informed of the death of Muley Zidan, Muley Iſhmael, governed by that ſpirit of contradiction which, in him, was a characteriſtic quality, commanded the ſeven wives of this prince to be brought from Mequinez, and along with them the

Jew

Jew merchant, who had ſupplied them with the brandy, by drinking which he had made himſelf drunk. Lela Zidana, as well worthy to be the wife of Muley Iſhmael as the mother of Muley Zidan, ſacrificed theſe eight victims to the barbarity of her revenge. Her cruelty was deteſtably atrocious. She ordered the breaſts to be ſevered from three of theſe women, and obliged them to eat them previous to their being ſtrangled.

Nero, Caligula, Heliogabalus, were abhorrent villains; yet Nero, Caligula, Heliogabalus, themſelves, were unequal to the fiends of whoſe acts I give but a partial relation.

The death of Muley Zidan happened in 1721, and his brother, Abdelmeleck, ſucceeded to the government of the ſouth, where he, at firſt, behaved with diſcretion; but the diſtance at which he lived from his father, the ambition of reigning, the levity of the people, and the internal vices of the government, which, here combined, inſpire rebellion among ſuch princes, ſoon rendered

rendered him equally guilty with his brothers. Acting with despotic authority over the princes he governed, Abdelmeleck presently became suspected by his father, and even had the temerity to refuse paying him tribute.

The Emperor, whose great age no longer permitted him to traverse deserts that he might punish insurgents, possessing now no other arms than those of artifice, wrote his son letters, the most tender and confidential, that he might persuade him to return to court, in which he even insinuated it was his intent to abdicate the empire in his favour. Well acquainted with his father, Abdelmeleck answered with like art, and in the most respectful terms, that he might remove those suspicions which he appeared to have entertained. Muley Ishmael, dissembling his vexation, feigned to be satisfied with the conduct of his son, and made no more intreaties; but, secretly nourishing hatred in his heart against this prince, he determined to leave his younger brother, Muley Achmet Daiby, his successor

in ſovereignty. Some have ſuppoſed it was the Emperor's intention to make the nation regret his memory, by leaving a ſucceſſor unworthy of the ſceptre, and incapable of government.

After reigning fifty-four years, continually agitated by inquietude, ſuſpicion, or revolt, and ſullying his ſceptre by the moſt tragical ſcenes, Muley Iſhmael died on the 22nd of March, 1727, aged eighty one. Active, enterprizing, and politic, this Emperor has tarniſhed the glory of his reign by his avarice, his duplicity, his oppreſſions, his injuſtice, and a continuation of barbarities, the relation of which would be dreadful, and the remembrance of which time only can efface.

Addicted to ſenſuality, Muley Iſhmael had a prodigious number of wives, and, ſo numerous was his poſterity, that, it is doubted whether he himſelf knew all his children. If the common opinion may be credited, he had more than eight hundred ſons; and there ſtill remains at Tafilet a conſiderable body of the Sharifs,

who are the descendants of Muley Ishmael, of his brothers, or his forefathers.

The Moors relate that the last child of this sovereign was born eighteen months after the death of his father, and the Talbes decided that child birth, with respect to him, had departed from the order of nature. The time of gestation, however, is certainly not longer in Morocco than in Europe; but physicians, in the latter country, are less indulgent in their opinions.

Muley Ishmael, who, among a number of vices, possessed some good qualities, was ardent in the pursuit of his projects, artful in policy, and distinguished his reign by his application to the forming of troops from the negro families, and their descendants, whom he acquired from the coast of Guinea. This population of foreign soldiers, whose interest was ever opposite to that of the Moors, but ever connected with that of the monarch, has planted in the heart of the empire a new and distinct nation. After the death of Muley Ish-

mael, the number of the negro ſoldiers capable of bearing arms amounted to about one hundred thouſand. This warlike and inſolent ſoldiery, which was made the inſtrument of the avarice of Muley Iſhmael, and by whoſe aid he gratified all his paſſions, had great influence in the revolutions, which, after the death of this Emperor, have ſo much agitated Morocco. The Negroes might have ſubjugated the empire in the ſame manner as the Tartars have ſeized on China, had there been found among them ambitious leaders, as capable of forming as they were of executing projects ſo great. During ſuch tempeſtuous intervals the empire became, for ſeveral years, the prey of this avaricious body, which never gave the ſucceſſors of Muley Iſhmael time ſufficient to ſecure their authority. They reſembled the Roman legions, during the decline of that empire, they elected Emperors on one day, and dethroned them on the next.

CHAP.

## CHAP. V.

*Muley Achmet Daiby proclaimed by the Grandees and the Negroes. Duquella ſubjected. Avarice of the Emperor. Revolt of Abdelmeleck. Brutality, drunkenneſs, and indolence, of Muley Achmet. Abdelmeleck ſtrangled. Death of the Emperor.*

MULEY Achmet Daiby, the only ſon of Muley Iſhmael who happened to be at Mequinez when his father died, behaved himſelf with ſo much prudence, by the council and aid of the governor of that city, that he diſconcerted the projects of his brothers, Abdelmeleck and Abdallah, who, being both his ſeniors, had that claim to empire, and the confidence of the people, which age and experience give. The troops of the latter, while he was waiting

ſome revolution in his favour, voluntarily abandoned his party, which had not aſcendancy ſufficient to withſtand his opponents.

The grandees, and the officers of the Negroes, being aſſembled, the day after the death of Muley Iſhmael, unanimouſly proclaimed Muley Achmet Daiby, and took the oath of fidelity. The new Emperor gave them two hundred thouſand ducats, about one million three hundred thouſand livres, or fifty-four thouſand pounds ſterling, to diſtribute among the troops; and they, encouraged by this generoſity, marched againſt the provinces that gave any tokens of inſurrection, and that, after having loſt Muley Iſhmael, ſuppoſed they no longer had a maſter.

The Moors of the province of Duquella, and of its environs, having taken up arms againſt Muley Achmet Daiby, were entirely defeated and ſubjected. This victory, which added to the aſcendancy the Negroes had acquired, re-eſtabliſhed order and tranquillity in the other provinces.

Muley

Muley Achmet Daiby was only generous from policy: he was by character as avaricious as his father had been. In the very beginning of his reign he took all possible care to know and to increase his treasury. So little respectful was his avidity that he even stript the wives of his father, of the gold and silver jewels which they had received, in the moments of his caprice, or his liberality. The wealth left by Muley Ishmael was considerable, and Muley Achmet himself had been an œconomist, so that the treasury of the Emperor might amount to one hundred millions of livres, or near four millions two hundred thousand pounds. Yet did this mass of money, accumulated by time and oppression, soon after, disappear in an instant.

Dazzled at beholding such heaps of gold, Muley Achmet, as avaricious as he was intemperate, neglected the cares of government, and dedicated himself wholly to his pleasures. He yielded to the debauchery of drunkenness, without reserve; and this passion, which alienated the love of his people, was the source of his misfortunes.

In order to gain the affection of his subjects, in the beginning of his reign he issued an edict, by which he reduced all taxation to that of simply collecting the tenths, as prescribed by the law of Mahomet. Yet did not a regulation so wise produce effects which ought to have been the result, but rather served to manifest the abuse of authority among the governors, who profited by the vices of the imperial power to increase their extortions. The provinces became so much dissatisfied that the people, in many parts, took up arms to redress their grievances, and thus spread confusion throughout the empire.

The most of these provinces, beholding, with repugnance, the irregular conduct of Muley Achmet Daiby, were secretly inclined toward prince Abdelmeleck, who was a religious observer of the law. They, however, durst not openly testify their discontent. Muley Achmet being informed of the disposition of the people, and perplexed concerning the manner in which he ought to act, wished to secure the fidelity of the Negroes by his gifts, and almost

almoſt wholly confided the imperial admi-niſtration of government, to the caprice and fickle avarice of his troops.

Such implicit confidence, prodigally be-ſtowed on foreign ſoldiers, whom the Moors deteſted, ſtill further alienated the minds of men, and the fermentation be-came general. Sedition firſt manifeſted it-ſelf at Fez, the governor of which, and near a hundred men of his party, were maſſacred by the people. The city of Te-tuan, and its environs, followed the exam-ple; the governor was obliged to fly, and the furious people deſtroyed his houſe, his gardens, and ſubjected the city to all the horrors of a civil war.

Muley Achmet, ſunken in brutal intox-ication, was incapable of yielding any re-medy to ſuch diſorders, of which the people round him even kept him in igorance. So cruel was this emperor, when he was ſober, that his attendants and wives had no other means of ſafety than that of making him drunk. The governor of Me-quinez, on whom he principally depended for

for the adminiſtration of affairs, only rendered his maſter the more odious by his own negligence. Indolence and neglect pervaded the court. The debauched life of the king, the contempt in which his inactive government was held, and the murmurs of the people, rendered diſcontent ſo univerſal that it ended in revolt.

The provinces of the ſouth were the firſt that reared the ſtandard of rebellion. Muley Abdelmeleck, who had gained the hearts of the people, finding himſelf at the head of a powerful army between Suz and Morocco, was, of all thoſe who aſpired to empire, he who ſeemed to have the beſt founded claims; but he was guilty of an error, which became an obſtacle to his good fortune and future elevation. In order to flatter his own army, compoſed of the inhabitants of the mountains and volunteers, who held the Negroes in abhorrence, this prince declared, that, ſhould he ever arrive at empire, he would maintain no negro troops.

A declaration like this, which was exceedingly impolitic at ſuch a moment, when the Negroes, accuſtomed to war, were in poſſeſſion of all power, was for a time exceedingly favourable to the party of Muley Achmet, whoſe authority theſe ſame Negroes, proſcribed by Abdelmeleck, ſaw themſelves neceſſitated to maintain. The latter was not long before he felt the effects of his indiſcretion, and the reſentment of theſe troops. Morocco was already in his power; after having gained a battle, the provinces of the ſouth were in his intereſt, as were the cities of Fez and Tetuan in the north, inſomuch that he was almoſt maſter of the empire; but, having been defeated by the Negroes, whom he had provoked, he was obliged to abandon Morocco, and retreat, after having received three wounds, which occaſioned the report of his death to be ſpread.

Having ſuſtained ſome attacks from the forces of Muley Achmet Daiby, the city of Fez made peace with this prince, and acknowledged him Emperor. Muley Abdelmeleck made a propoſition to lay down his

his arms, if his brother would cede him the half of the empire; and Muley Achmet was himſelf inclined to acquieſce, that he might have nothing farther to do, but drink and ſleep. His miniſters, however, his courtiers, and particularly his troops, who had great influence in theſe deliberations, firmly oppoſed any ſuch diviſion.

The diſlike of the people to Muley Achmet continued the ſame, after he was thus recalled to empire, for his manner of life underwent no alteration. Totally neglectful of government, he knew not of thoſe troubles which were incited in his provinces. His days were wholly ſpent in drinking, and his debauches were carried to ſuch exceſs, that, to conceal them, from the public, was no longer poſſible. Going one Friday to the moſque to prayer, he was ſo drunk, that, when he proſtrated himſelf, according to the cuſtom of the Mahometans, he vomited up his wine; an indecency which was every where rumoured, and every where gave offence.

When

When he was brought back to his palace he treated his wives with exceſſive cruelty, becauſe they made him ſome remonſtrances, till, impatient at ſuffering his violence, they left the place, and uttered their clamors aloud, in the ſtreets, againſt the indolence and diſſimulation of his miniſters, and the commanders of his forces, who had no reſpect whatever for religion. So general was the diſcontent, that the ſoldiers themſelves, prejudiced as they were againſt Abdelmeleck, joined the natives, and Abdelmeleck was once more proclaimed.

This proclamarion made, which happened in the month of March, 1728, the principal Alcaides, aſſembled at Mequinez, ſent deputies to Abdelmeleck, preſſing him to haſten his arrival. His ſon, who was at that time in Mequinez, was appointed regent, in expectation of the coming of his father; and the young prince, by ſome well-timed gifts, very prudently ſmothered thoſe diſcontents which the party of Muley Achmet at firſt teſtified, in conſequence of this election.

Muley

Muley Abdelmeleck arrived at Mequinez, and made his public entry on the 10th of April. In the barbarity of his religious zeal, it was his intention to have put out the eyes of his brother, but he satisfied himſelf with baniſhing him to Tafilet, remonſtrances having been made to him that, Muley Achmet having been found unworthy of the throne only in conſequence of his debauchery and indolent conduct, he did not merit any other chaſtiſement than that of being depoſed.

After this firſt act, Abdelmeleck, auſtere, arrogant, and choleric, began to treat his miniſters, and the Moors in general, with ſo much ſeverity, haughtineſs, and contempt, that he univerſally alienated the minds of his ſubjects. Scarcely had he reigned three months before the Negroes, recollecting the declaration which Abdelmeleck had publicly made concerning them, formed a party, and ſent a detachment to Tafilet to ſolicit pardon of Muley Achmet Daiby, and to invite him once more to put himſelf at their head, and aſſume the reins of government.

Attended

Attended by ſome troops in addition to the Negroes, the Emperor began his march, and preſently found himſelf at the head of eighty thouſand men. Abdelmeleck, who, by the exceſs of his pride, had deprived himſelf of partiſans, was obliged to ſhut himſelf up in Mequinez, where he was beſieged, and the city, taken by aſſault, was expoſed to pillage, and every horror which vengeance and barbarity could inſpire.

During the confuſion, Muley Abdelmeleck eſcaped to the city of Fez, where he was again beſieged. Unable to take this city by ſtorm, Muley Achmet reſolved on a blockade, and, as there were not ſufficient proviſions in Fez to ſuſtain a ſiege, the inhabitants, at the end of three months, determined to capitulate. The ſole condition which the Emperor exacted from them was, to yield up his brother. Abdelmeleck was accordingly delivered over to the conqueror, who, for a moment, diſſembling the ferocity of his character, thought proper to ſend him, under a ſtrong guard, to Mequinez, where he ſome-

ſometime after commanded him to be ſtrangled.

Muley Abdelmeleck had been executed but a few days before Muley Achmet Daiby himſelf died, in March, 1729, of an incurable dropſy. Such was the end of a prince, become brutal by indolence and intemperance, and who, deſpiſed by his ſubjects, never was capable of making his power reſpected.

CHAP.

## CHAP. VI.

*Acceſſion of Muley Abdallah, his cruelties; power of the Negroes, their inſatiable avidity, and conſequent revolutions. Muley Abdallah a ſixth time proclaimed Emperor; the negro troops enfeebled, and the power of the Emperor rendered more ſtable. Character of Muley Abdallah, his depravity, vices, and intolerable barbarities.*

AFTER the death of Muley Achmet Daiby, the ſceptre, which the army diſpoſed of at will, was frequently removed from prince to prince; and the empire of Morocco, which, in its birth, had ſo often been the prey of fanaticiſm, was now at the mercy of the negro ſoldiers. Muley Booffer, the ſon of Muley Achmet, who

was the immediate heir to the throne, firſt preſented himſelf as his father's ſucceſſor; but his party was not ſufficiently powerful. Lena Coneta, the mother of Muley Abdallah, an artful and intelligent princeſs, knew ſo well how to gain the minds of the people, and treated the Negroes with ſo much generoſity, that her ſon was by her means proclaimed.

Muley Abdallah, though, perhaps, as capricious as, and not leſs cruel than, his father, Muley Iſhmael, was generous even to exceſs. Six times depoſed, and ſix times remounting the throne, in the commencement of his reign he was the ſport of fortune, the victim of his people's fickleneſs, and the avarice of his ſoldiers. Muley Booffer, his nephew, conteſted with him for empire; but Booffer's ſole reſources were in a Marabout, held in veneration by ſome followers, whom the ſpirit of fanaticiſm had aſſembled; his faction therefore was ſoon defeated and diſperſed by the Negroes, and he was himſelf taken, as was the Marabout, who had become his counſellor, protector, and guide.

Muley

Muley Abdallah pardoned his nephew, and granted him his liberty; but, regardleſs of the prejudices of the Moors, he commanded the Marabout to be beheaded, and treated him as an impoſtor; for, ſaid he, had this Marabout been really a Saint, the ſabre that ſtruck at him would have been edgeleſs.

Muley Abdallah afterward marched againſt Fez, which had declared in favour of Muley Booffer, and laid ſiege to the city. It ſuſtained a blockade of ſix months before it ſurrendered; and, irritated at the obſtinacy of the inhabitants, the Emperor intended to have deſtroyed and wholly eraſed its foundations. Remonſtrances, however, were made to him, that it had been built by a deſcendant of Mahomet, and a founder of the empire, and that he would expoſe himſelf, by ſuch profanation, to the wrath of Heaven, and the hatred of the people.

The little religion Muley Abdallah demonſtrated, in thus manifeſting his intention to deſtroy a city conſecrated by the

Moors to devotion, and the violent and ſanguinary character his actions already had announced, ſo alienated the minds of men that there were indications of ſedition in various provinces of the empire; the Brebes of the mountains of Tedla were the firſt who took up arms. Prompt and vindicative, Muley Abdallah haſtily aſſembled ſome native Moors to march and reduce theſe mountaineers, without reflecting that he endangered his own glory, and diſguſted his other troops by ſo ill-judged a ſelection.

Having attacked the mountaineers at the head of twenty-five thouſand men, the Emperor loſt the half of his army in the battle, and returned to Mequinez to wreak his vengeance, and add to the ſhame of his defeat, by odious exhibitions of barbarity. A multitude of the inhabitants were put to death on the ſlighteſt pretext, himſelf aiding the murderers. Deſirous of ſhewing him the deteſtable abſurdity and inhumanity of ſuch actions, his mother remonſtrated, and he replied — "My ſubjects have no other right to "their lives than that which I think pro-

"per to leave them, nor have I any other "pleaſure ſo great as that of killing them "myſelf." More abominable in cruelty than even his predeceſſors were, this Emperor ſeemed anxious to add to the infamy of his hereditary ferocity.

The tragical barbarities of Muley Abdallah occaſioned the tribes of the mountains of Tedla to revolt; and, proud of the advantage they had already gained againſt the monarch, they drew over the neighbouring provinces to their party. Grown prudent by experience, and liſtening to the advice of his mother, the Emperor engaged the Negroes to take part in his meditated vengeance, and, by ſome acts of liberality, induced them to forget the neglect with which they had been treated. He now marched at the head of thirty thouſand new-raiſed troops, who were followed by as many Negoes. In July, 1730, he arrived among the mountains of Tedla, and proceeded through a country full of brambles and underwood. Unfortunately theſe took fire near his camp, and he loſt many men, horſes, and camels, with all his pro-

visions, and was himself in danger. The superstitious soldiers considered this accident as an evil prognostic, and the Negroes, who had testified some indications of inconstancy, were disgusted. Muley Abdallah, however, prevented them from abandoning him, by promising them three hundred thousand ducats (or upward of eighty thousand pounds sterling) at the end of the campaign.

The army having received a new supply of provisions, it once more began its march, in two columns, each at some distance from the other, thereby to surround the insurgents. The Emperor who commanded the van attacked them with the greatest valour; and the Negroes, who followed, seconded this attack so effectually that the rebels were cut off, and their country totally ravaged. The troops of Muley Abdallah took a vast number of horses, camels, herds, and flocks, contenting themselves with killing the sheep, that they might carry off the wool. The very women and children were stripped of their clothing, and turned naked into the coun-

try;

try; but the Emperor gave them wherewith to cover their nakedneſs; and this was the firſt act of humanity he had ever been known to perform.

Muley Abdallah paſſed the remainder of the campaign in the province of Hea, where his troops were indulged in repoſe; and whence he ſent a detachment into that of Dara. His arms here were unſucceſsful; the commander, who had been ſent on this expedition, brought back to Mequinez, to which place the king had returned, not more than the tenth part of the forces, with which he had been entruſted; he had fought with equal prudence and valour, and was vanquiſhed, becauſe overpowered by numbers.

Muley Abdallah baſely put this general to death, together with the ſoldiers who had returned with him, and not only preſided himſelf a witneſs of, but was the chief executioner at, this ſcene of blood. Perceiving that thoſe who put theſe wretches to death performed their taſk ill, he took the ſabre himſelf, to ſhew them the manner

in which it ought to be uſed. Thus periſhed, by the hand of a vile executioner, called an Emperor, men who, in any other country, would have met the rewards due to their ſervices.

To keep his ſubjects buſy, and not give them time to reflect on his barbarities, Muley Abdallah built new fortifications and new walls at Mequinez, to ſecure it from the incurſions of the Brebes. The inhabitants, be their rank or condition what it would, were all obliged to aſſiſt at raiſing theſe walls. At the concluſion of the year 1732, he left this work to march againſt the mountaineers of the environs of Tetuan, who gave tokens of inſurrection, and who, intrenched among their mountains and precipices, firmly waited his approach, without even defending the paſſes. Having imprudently entangled himſelf in a defile with thirty thouſand men, the Brebes ſuddenly appeared on the heights, and attacked the army of the Emperor with ſo much ſucceſs that it was put to the rout, and Muley Abdallah could with difficulty ſecure himſelf and a few ſoldiers, leaving

leaving his baggage the prey of the victors.

The ſpirit of inſurrection having ſpread itſelf almoſt throughout the whole empire, Muley Abdallah paſſed the following year in the province of Tafilet, there to quell a revolt. The ſucceſs of this campaign was by no means proſperous; the Emperor wanted not intrepidity, but was unſkilful and imprudent; and, having raſhly attacked the rebels before he had been joined by his whole army, he was vanquiſhed, and obliged to retreat. As the remainder of his forces advanced to join his army, he cauſed their officers to be ſeized, and commanded them to be dragged by mules along the road, that he might revenge upon them the diſgrace of his own imprudence and defeat.

The mother of Muley Abdallah, perceiving ſhe had loſt all influence over the mind of her ſon, and ſeeing herſelf expoſed to his contempt, unwilling longer to be a witneſs of his blood-thirſty acts, aſked permiſſion to quit the court, and go on pilgrimage

grimage to Mecca. The Emperor, on her return, teſtified little affection for this princeſs, nor did he fulfil thoſe duties preſcribed by propriety and cuſtom, after a journey conſecrated to religion. His mother, however, ſhewed much tenderneſs for him, and preſented him with four beautiful ſlaves whom ſhe had bought, hoping, by their means, to inſpire him with the love of women, and extirpate an unnatural paſſion, to which this depraved wretch had addicted himſelf. This worthy mother continued to give her ſon advice, concerning his government; but, deaf to her counſels, and liſtening only to his own impetuoſity and caprice, he wholly loſt the affection of his ſubjects.

That he might the more eaſily ſubjugate the Negroes, who, in conſequence of his diſſipation, had become intractable, and whoſe avarice and fickleneſs he dreaded, Muley Abdallah formed the project of cutting off their general, and thoſe among their officers who moſt influenced the reſolutions of this ſoldiery. The ſecret, however, having been diſcovered by the interception

ception of letters, the negro corps, ever in arms, and conſcious of its own power, rendered the project of Muley Abdallah abortive, by publicly depoſing him, on the 29th of September, 1734; and Muley Ali, one of his brothers, was elected in his ſtead.

Being informed of what were the intentions of theſe troops, Muley Abdallah ſent them three hundred thouſand ducats, hoping thereby to appeaſe them; but the Negroes received the money in part of payment of what had been promiſed, and no way changed their determination. The Emperor then, as a laſt expedient, ſhut himſelf up in Mequinez, there to defend himſelf; but, after having made his preparations, he fled among the mountains, accompanied by ſix hundred horſemen, and left his mother, his wives, and children, to the mercy of his enemies.

From Mequinez to Tarudant, Muley Abdallah viſited all the mountains, among the inhabitants of which the Negroes were held in averſion, and by this means raiſed himſelf

himſelf a party. Had he been ſuſceptible of reflection and prudence, he might have re-eſtabliſhed his power; but, equally impetuous in proſperity and adverſity, he continually acted with violence: the very tribes that had teſtified their attachment to him ſoon felt the caprices of his character, and cruelty; he, with his own hands, ill-treating and killing thoſe among them who came to make him remonſtrances: ſo that, at length, he was deteſted and execrated by all the provinces, which no longer would intereſt themſelves in his behalf.

Muley Ali, who was at Tafilet when he was called to empire, arrived at Mequinez, in October 1735. The firſt of his cares, after his entrance, was to inform himſelf concerning the ſtate of the treaſury, which he knew had been left rich by his brother, Muley Achmet Daiby. Seeing it reduced to a very trifle, he, avaricious and barbarous like his predeceſſors, indulged his ferocity; and the mother of Muley Abdallah, beholding one of her own female attendants aſſaſſinated in her arms, and fearing herſelf to fall the victim of his fury, gave him ſome infor-

information concerning a part that had been concealed, but which, however, was of ſmall value.

Anxious to preſerve a crown, for which he was indebted to the preponderating power of the Negroes, this prince diſtributed among them all the money that remained in the treaſury; and, without foreſeeing the conſequences, further promiſed them, as ſoon as he ſhould be able to pay it, the ſum of two hundred thouſand ducats, or between fifty and ſixty thouſand pounds ſterling. Hitherto the cities of Fez and Mequinez, and their dependencies only, were under the obedience of Muley Ali; the remainder of the empire was to be acquired by the valour of the Negroes.

Their general, the ſame whom Abdallah intended to have cut off, went, at the head of thirty thouſand men, to beſiege Morocco, took it by aſſault, put the garriſon to the ſword, and gave up the city to be pillaged by his ſoldiers. Actuated by reſentment, this general propoſed to march

and

and give battle to Muley Abdallah himself; but, perceiving indications of irresolution among his troops, that had so often experienced the capricious generosity of this Emperor, he was determined to march with his army into the province of Beni-Hassen, whence it carried off the flocks and herds, and ravaged the environs of Sallee; which place refused to open its gates.

However high the resentment of the Negroes might be against Muley Abdallah, still their desire of money soon made them forget his cruelties, recollecting only the profusion of his gifts. Muley Ali was poor, and this to them was a feeble recommendation; their general, who was in the interests of the latter, insensibly lost the confidence of his soldiers. Influenced by their own avidity, and the intrigues of the mother of Muley Abdallah, who promised each man thirty ducats if they would proclaim the Emperor once more, they, in May, 1736, deposed Muley Ali, who had for some time past stupified himself by the immoderate use of the Achicha, which had benum-

benumbed his powers of body and mind*.

Informed of the reftoration of Muley Abdallah, Muley Ali retreated in his turn among the neighbouring mountains of Tremecen, accompanied by his family, and only fome forty men, who refolved to follow his fortunes.

A fecond time called to the throne, Muley Abdallah received at Teza, where he then was, a deputation of the officers of the Negroes, at the head of two thoufand men, to announce the revolution, and efcort him to Mequinez. Although the Emperor treated this deputation with demonftrations of gratitude, he ftill refufed to return to Mequinez, unlefs the Negroes would deliver up their general, Selim Doo-

* This plant greatly refembles hemp, and, mixed with other drugs, produces the fame kind of intoxication as opium. Some of the Moors take it continually; it infpires them with agreeable reveries, and, though exceffively heating, it benumbs the fenfes. In fome conftitutions, it renders thofe who take it furious.

quelli;

quelli; and he then promifed to recompenfe them by a gift of four hundred thoufand ducats, (or upward of a hundred thoufand pound fterling) which he had concealed.

Covetous as they were of money, yet the delivering up of their general was repugnant to the Negroes; befide, they perceived that the plan of Muley Abdallah was to weaken their power, and no longer to remain dependent on the influence they had acquired in the election of Emperor. Selim Dooquelli, an artful man, and beloved by the foldiers, was fo powerful in perfuading them that they did not hefitate once more to renounce their election of Muley Abdallah, and to proclaim Muley Mahomet, Ool Del Ariba *. The general expedited a courier to the latter at Tafilet, and fent him a detachment to efcort him to Mequinez. Thus was Muley Abdallah, by his imprudence, depofed

* That is to fay, the fon of the Ariba, which was the family name of the queen, his mother.

either the ſame, or nearly the ſame day, on which he was once more elected.

This precipitate proceeding, notwithſtanding, gave birth to quarrels among the ſoldiers, who were not all of the ſame opinion. They took to their arms, the party of Muley Abdallah became victorious, and he was a third time proclaimed before the arrival of Muley Mahomet. The latter, being then on the road, found himſelf obliged to ſtop at Old Fez, where he was received and treated as Emperor. Sovereignty, in times ſo perilous, was a very precarious and temporary poſſeſſion, which depended entirely on the moment and its accidents, on the character of the commanders and the caprices of the ſoldiery.

The officers of the Negroes, having reinſtated Muley Abdallah on the throne, intereſted themſelves in behalf of their general, and obtained a promiſe of pardon by the mediation of the Emperor's mother. Selim Dooquelli, who had taken

refuge in an aſylum, left this hoſpitium on the word of the Emperor; but he informed his ſoldiers of the fear he had, that he ſhould become "the victim of the deceit of this ſubtle and ſanguinary fox, "who, ſaid he to them, only wiſhes to deprive you of your chief, that he may "deſtroy you with the greater facility."

His fears and forbodings were juſtified by the event. Having been conducted to Teza, covered by the cloth of the ſanctuary, to which he had fled, he proſtrated himſelf before Muley Abdallah; the Emperor kiſſed the holy cloth, that far paying reſpect to cuſtom, and ordered it to be taken from the general, but, regardleſs of the aſylum of religion, or his pledged faith, buried his lance in his body, and called for a cup that he might drink his blood. He afterward cut off the perſons attached to this general, and even his children, whom he cauſed to be ſtrangled in his preſence.

This thirſt of blood, this diſreſpect of his word, and of the prejudices of the nation, incited general indignation againſt

Muley Abdallah. Not only is the ſanctuaries of their Saints conſidered, among the Moors, as a certain aſylum, which guards the culprit againſt the firſt efforts of authority, and yields him the means of juſtifying himſelf, but a like reſpect is alſo paid to the very habit of the ſaint, to whom any ſuch hoſpitium is conſecrated. To act contrary to this cuſtom, to treat the public opinion with contempt, and thus to violate the ſacred rights of the holy place of refuge, was to deprive the nation of all protection from the power of deſpotiſm; yet Muley Abdallah, acknowledging no other rule than his arbitrary will, took a pleaſure in contemning theſe hoſpitiums and their Marabouts, for which and whom the Moors have ſo much veneration. Deſirous of preventing the reſentment which his ill faith muſt inſpire among the Negroes, the Emperor departed from Teza for Mequinez, under the pretext of paying them the four hundred thouſand ducats which they had been promiſed. In order to gain time, and the better to deceive the ſoldiers, he commanded the earth to be dug up, in certain places which he

deſcribed, and affected the utmoſt aſtoniſhment when no money was found. Having, nevertheleſs, promiſed to pay the Negroes before he made his entrance into Mequinez, and being arrived there without the power of fulfilling his promiſe, Muley Abdallah knew not how to act. The ſum of four hundred thouſand ducats, and the gratification which had been before ſtipulated with his mother, amounted to near two millions of ducats; all the money he had poſſeſſed had before been diſperſed, and he was obliged to ſell his arms, his horſes, and jewels; but, though this ſacrifice proved his deſire to pay, it did not produce the quarter of the ſum he had promiſed.

Never had Muley Abdallah more need of circumſpection, and reſource in his own underſtanding, than at this inſtant. Secretly deteſted by his ſoldiers, who were enamoured only of his prodigality, he had the more to dread from their inconſtancy becauſe that he was at no great diſtance from Muley Mahomet, and to whom only he had been preferred in the hope of reward.

ward. The Emperor once more entered into treaty with the Negroes, and promifed to pay them in the fpace of two months, while thefe foldiers, on their part, determined to remain neuter during that interval, and neither intereft themfelves in his behalf nor in behalf of Muley Mahomet, who was fhut up in Fez.

Thus we behold a defpotic fovereign capitulating with his foldiers; yet, being themfelves the inftruments of defpotifm, it is no wife aftonifhing to fee them fometimes thus acting as arbitrators.

This refolution of the Negroes determined Muley Abdallah to lay fiege to Fez, accompanied by the Brebes of his party. The city made a moft vigorous refiftance, and the fallies of Muley Mahomet were fo fuccefsful that the Brebes, wearied and and difheartened, determined to raife the fiege.

The two months, which the Negroes had granted to Muley Abdallah, being expired, they fent to demand their money,

 as

as a creditor ſends to demand a debt. The Emperor made excuſes, pleaded preſent circumſtances, and once more paid them with promiſes. The Negroes, whom money alone might render tractable, now recollected all the vices of Muley Abdallah, his cruelties, his ill faith, and hatred to them; nor could they find any being ſo odious as this Emperor, when he no longer had any thing to give.

The murmurs of this turbulent body, whoſe reſentment and ferocity were dreaded by Muley Abdallah, determined him to eſcape with what he could collect moſt precious, and retire among the mountains, accompanied by his mother, his ſon, and a few ſoldiers. Aſtoniſhed at the flight of the Emperor, and irreſolute themſelves concerning the manner in which they ought to act, the Negroes, in October 1736, once more named Muley Mahomet Ool Del Ariba, at the ſolicitations of the deputies of Fez, who engaged to pay, in behalf of this prince, the four hundred thouſand ducats, which had been promiſed them by Muley Abdallah.

Muley

Muley Mahomet, dreading his brother as a rival, and the ficklenefs of the foldiery, fent an army, againft Muley Abdallah, among the mountains in which he had taken refuge; but this army dared not to attack the Brebes in their faftneffes, and was impelled to retreat. After raifing a more numerous army, Muley Mahomet marched thither in perfon, but with no better fuccefs; his cavalry being incapable of acting, among mountains and precipices, he was obliged to renounce his enterprize, and to content himfelf with ravaging the country, and deftroying fome caftles in the environs. His army, having afterward been attacked by the Brebes in a defile, was beaten, and thrown into diforder. Muley Mahomet was himfelf wounded in the arm, and in danger of being taken, having fought perfonally, and with great valour.

After thefe acts of hoftility, the Negroes, much more occupied concerning their own interefts than the maintenance of the fovereign power, began to make remonftrances concerning the four hundred thoufand ducats, which the deputies of Fez had

undertaken to pay; the latter having eluded the payment of this ſum, the ſoldiers no longer could diſſemble their reſentment. Theſe reſtleſs and avaricious troops indicated ſo much indifference concerning Muley Mahomet, that this prince, who was mild, juſt, and the enemy of tyranny, was on the eve of laying down his authority voluntarily, that he might no longer ſubject himſelf to the phantaſies of theſe forces*. The Negroes, perceiving the ſovereign they had choſen poſſeſſed not that ſpirit of vexation which alone might gratify their rapacity, ſuddenly ſtripped him of the authority they had beſtowed, and, in 1738, named his brother, Muley Zin Lahabdin, as his ſucceſſor.

The reign of Muley Zin was but momentary. Muley Abdallah, who had gone

* This prince has been dead about ten years; he lived like a private man near Mequinez, where I had the honour of being acquainted with him and his ſons. Like the princes of the Arabs, they ſupported themſelves on the revenues of their lands, flocks, and herds. They were very polite, and exceedingly affable in ſociety.

toward

toward Morocco, where he had made himself a powerful party, was a fourth time proclaimed Emperor by the provinces of the South, that had taken arms to counteract the power of the Negroes. Made wise by the vicissitudes of fortune, to which he had been exposed by his own vices and dissipations, and by the avidity and inconstancy of his troops, the Emperor felt the necessity of weakening these insolent Negroes, who disposed of empire at their pleasure.

He long remained encamped under Mount Atlas with an army of Brebes, supposing that the Negroes would march to attack him, and intending there to give them battle: but, finding this project did not succeed, he began his march for Mequinez, where, on his arrival, his election was confirmed. The Negroes had consented to this, because they perceived no better means of acting; they, nevertheless, did not behold with pleasure a monarch on the throne, who, prodigal as he had been in his gifts, had yet so often deceived them, and who, contrary to the faith of promises pledged,

pledged, had ſacrificed their general and principal chiefs to his policy and his vengeance; but they were obliged to diſſemble their diſcontent.

As the avarice of theſe troops favoured the intrigues of all thoſe who aſpired to ſovereign power, the ſecret diſſatisfaction of the Negroes ſoon found an opportunity of making itſelf manifeſt. The mother of Muley Muſtadi, who clandeſtinely negotiated with their general, ſo well ſucceeded that ſhe diſpoſed them to favour her ſon, who, in 1740, was proclaimed Emperor, and Muley Abdallah was once more obliged to retire among the mountains. Such and ſo inceſſant were theſe revolutions; for, as they depended on the cupidity and inconſtancy of an armed mob, theſe raiſed up Emperors and pulled them down, almoſt in the ſame moment.

Muley Muſtadi, unwilling to depend on the caprice of his ſoldiers, thought he acted wiſely in uniting himſelf with the province of Beni-Haſſen, and with the Baſhaw of Tangiers, who governed that of

of Garb. This alliance, by which a union was again effected between all the north of the empire, inspired the troops with jealousy; and, that they might not give Muley Mustadi time sufficient to strengthen his party, they once more recalled Muley Abdallah.

Muley Mustadi, however, was not deposed with the same ease as his predecessors had been. Each party maintained and defended his election by the force of arms. Various actions happened between the two armies, and many fell on both sides. At length, Muley Abdallah, supported by the Negroes, the Ludaya, and the most warlike tribes, was victorious over the factions of the two provinces, which, powerful as they were, could not withstand an army composed of soldiers inured to war. Muley Mustadi, on his part, without wholly renouncing empire, thought proper to retire to Arzilla, where he carried on a considerable commerce in grain with the Spaniards.

The

The empire at this time was, for a ſhort ſpace, divided between Muley Muſtadi and Muley Abdallah; the latter, deſirous of obliging his brother wholly to abdicate the throne, marched with an army to poſſeſs himſelf of Tangiers, and to cut off the Baſhaw, Achmet Ben Ali, who was governer of the city, and who ſuſtained Muley Muſtadi, by his credit, his money, and his troops. The Baſhaw having been killed in battle, the city was taken, and his palace was pillaged; but his ſon, Mahomet Ben Achmet, had time to eſcape to Gibralter, whither he carried all his wealth.

Muley Muſtadi profited by this momentary diverſion to go and ravage the environs of Fez. On his return from this expedition, he was attacked near Alcaſſar by Muley Abdallah, and, having been deſerted in the battle by a part of his forces, he found himſelf obliged to retreat to Sallee, where, notwithſtanding his defeat, he was received and acknowledged Emperor.

The town of Rabat, which is only ſeparated from Sallee by a river, having refuſed to own his authority, a civil war aroſe between the two places, which long continued, and which was equally ruinous to both by the facility they mutually had to injure each other. Sallee and Rabat, having become feudatory towns of the empire, under Muley Iſhmael, formed at that time a kind of republic, under a municipal government: reſtored to the monarchy, they might, by their wealth, and the character of their inhabitants, favour the factions that diſtracted the empire.

Muley Muſtadi, for fourteen months, beſieged Rabat; but, finding himſelf unable to take the place, he retired to Tedla, where he was arreſted and put in chains by the Brebes, of the party of Muley Abdallah. The Brebes of the caſile of Oordega carried him off in the night, and tranſported him into the hoſpitium of Sidi El Mati, a ſacred aſylum, the ſaints of which family had inherited the veneration of the people. Sidi El Mati eſcorted Muley Muſtadi to Sallee, where the Ba-

ſhaw, Fenis, received him with ſo much the more eagerneſs inaſmuch as that town, devoted to this prince, was totally averſe to Muley Abdallah.

Muley Muſtadi, however, finding that he was incapable of reſiſting the faction of the Negroes, or of reſtoring tranquillity to an empire ever in revolt, renounced the throne, and once more went to Arzilla, where he lived like a private perſon, and continued to trade with Europe.

Muley Abdallah thus, at length, was for the ſixth time, maſter of the empire, and the Negroes, enfeebled by ſo many diviſions, became leſs inſolent in proportion as there were fewer candidates for ſovereign power; beſide, it was no longer poſſible to ſet up the crown to the beſt bidder, or to gratify the avarice of the ſoldiers, becauſe of the exhauſted ſtate of the treaſury, and of the difficulty with which contributions might any longer be raiſed in the provinces, which had been entirely laid deſolate by ſuch a ſucceſſion of revolutions.

Become

Become more prudent and circumſpect by experience, and full of reſentment againſt the Negroes, the inconſtancy of whom he had ſo often experienced, Muley Abdallah determined to ſuppreſs this audacious ſoldiery, from whoſe aid he had nothing more to hope, and from whoſe inſolence he had every thing to fear. He artfully took every occaſion to involve the Negroes in quarrels with the mountaineers, and, by his ſecret intrigues, endeavoured to render them odious to all the provinces. Under the pretence of forced contributions, the amount of which he was to receive, he often ſet the Negroes at variance with the Brebes, by whom they were held in abhorrence; keeping up a correſpondence with theſe mountaineers, the Emperor himſelf would ſend faithful troops, that the Negroes might be put between two fires, and thus ſacrificed to the public hatred, his private vengeance, and his future repoſe. By ſuch acts of barbarous policy, which had, in ſome ſort, become neceſſary, in conſequence of the avarice, fickleneſs, and preponderance of the Negroes, theſe turbulent forces, that had ſo

often

often put up the empire at auction, lost that ascendancy they had acquired.

The Negroes being thus reduced, the Emperor recovered his power, and the empire a part of its tranquillity. Muley Abdallah was firmly established on the throne, and remained thus in peaceable possession till his death. Yet did not all the varieties of fortune he had felt make any change in the manners of this Moor; he still preserved the sanguinary and cruel character he from the first had testified, and still inspired no other sentiments than those of fear and terror. Ingenious in refining on barbarity, not a week passed, perhaps not a day, that did not behold some one immolated to his choler, or his caprice.

It must, notwithstanding, be acknowledged that, cruel and frantic as were the acts which disgraced his reign, he still gave tokens of some principles of equity and disinterestedness, which, though they cannot excuse, seem, in some degree, to soften his ferocity. When any Moor whatever had committed a crime, Muley Abdallah caused him

him to be puniſhed with the utmoſt ſeverity, without ſeizing on his wealth. An Alcaid, after having been impriſoned and condemded to death, offered to give him his riches, which were very conſiderable, would he only grant him his life. "Thy riches," anſwered the Emperor, "belong to thy "children, who are not guilty; but, as "thou art, it is but juſt that thou ſhouldeſt "periſh."

Muley Abdallah having, at length, ſuppreſſed thoſe revolutions, by which his reign had ſo often been diſturbed, he alternately made Mequinez and Morocco his places of reſidence, that he might occaſionally be preſent at each boundary of his empire, and overawe, with the greater eaſe, the provinces, whoſe inconſtancy he feared. He afterward commanded the palace, called Arbiba, to be built near New Fez, in which he paſſed the latter years of his life.

Heir to all the caprices and barbarities of Muley Iſhmael, he neither poſſeſſed his

prudence nor his policy. More generous than his father, and leſs a ſlave to the prejudices of his religion, he did not reſemble him in his diſlike of Europeans: he ſoon concluded treaties of peace with the Engliſh and the Dutch, who, in the beginning of the preſent century, enjoyed almoſt the excluſive commerce of Europe; the confidence of foreign powers, under his reign, was ſo far eſtabliſhed that ſeveral commercial houſes were ſettled at Tetuan, Sallee, Saffi, and Santa Cruz; and the merchants, as well as the ſhips of nations that were not at peace with the empire of Morocco, there enjoyed all the rights and good faith of aſylum.

After the example of his father, Muley Abdallah employed the ſlaves, whom the fate of battles gave into the power of his corſairs, on the public works; and, though he treated them with barbarous rigour, chaſtiſing and putting them to death on the ſlighteſt pretence, he ſtill held it contrary to the principles of humanity to refuſe their being redeemed; many of them were releaſed under his reign, and thus, amidſt

amidſt the moſt exceſſive cruelties, did he ſeem to be impreſſed with ſome ſentiments of humanity and juſtice.

The plague, which had laid waſte the ſtates of Morocco, under the reign of Muley Iſhmael, again committed new ravages under that of Muley Abdallah, and made its appearance in 1752, being communicated to the Moors from Algiers and Tunis, whither it had been brought from Turkey *.

It was at the commencement of the reign of Muley Abdallah, in 1732, that

* The plague was almoſt general in Turkey in the year 1751, and Conſtantinople loſt a third of its inhabitants. The ravages of this ſcourge of man were, in ſome degree, foretold by the old people, who, ſeeing the quantity of ſnow that fell in the winter of 1750 and 1751, foreboded, from experience, that the plague would become very fatal. Their prophecy was juſtified by the event, though it had by many been regarded as vague and idle. It might happen that the nitrous particles, with which the air was impregnated, increaſed the fermentation of the blood, and rendered the contagion more quick and poiſonous. I have allowed myſelf to write this note, which, perhaps, may deſerve indulgence from the accurate obſervers of nature.

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the Duke de Riperda, renowned for his high rank and adventures, paſſed over to the court of Morocco. Born in the province of Groningen, and become miniſter of Spain, under Philip V., this Duke, after his diſgrace, was expoſed for a time to numerous viciſſitudes of fortune. After eſcaping from Segovia, where he was impriſoned, he went to England and Holland; his reſtleſs and turbulent temper made him liſten to the inſtigations of the Alcaid, Perez, who, at that time, reſided as ambaſſador at the Hague, and turn his thoughts toward Morocco.

Full of animoſity againſt the court of Madrid, the Duke formed the project of beſieging Ceuta, thinking he ſhould thereby involve the court of Morocco in his reſentment. He met a very kind reception from Muley Abdallah; but the ſtates of the Emperor being conſtantly a prey to revolutions, and he himſelf inconſiſtent, the Duke went to Tetuan, and made that the place of his reſidence.

Here

Here he formed various projects to dissipate his weariness, and animate the Moors against Spain; but his motives of resentment, and plans of revenge, were wholly ineffectual at a court which never acted from any fixed system, and which was itself too much divided to concern itself with foreign interests. By nature turbulent, the Duke afterward entered into the projects of Baron Neuhof, who, under the name of Theodore, was for a moment king of Corsica.

Desirous of prevailing on the court of Morocco to unite itself with the people of Tunis, who were disposed to give aid to this rising kingdom, he made many journies to the court at Mequinez, where his plan appeared to be approved; but he was amused only with hopes, in order to obtain presents, and his political views were very little regarded. It is not, however, true that the Duke de Riperda became a proselyte to Mahometanism; nor did he ever command the armies of Morocco, as some writers have affirmed. Some Moors of the country, who were particularly ac-

quainted with him, have assured me that he ended his life and romantic adventures at Tetuan, toward the end of the year 1737, without either changing his dress or his religion.

Muley Abdallah having passed the greater part of his life in one continued agitation, never, during the first years of his reign, tasting repose, it may be that this erratic and troublesome life might contribute to the brutal ferocity of his character, and to that depravation of manners which made him contemned by his subjects. His whole posterity consisted but of two male children; the eldest having died in the castle of Rabat, while heading his father's party against Muley Mustadi, there only remained Sidi Mahomet, the present reigning Emperor.

This circumstance prevented the divisions, which always arise on the death of an Emperor, to obtain the succession; for, as the rights of seniority and birth are not sufficiently established to give unequivocal claim, all the sons of the late sovereign, anxious to possess

possess a crown, form parties; and the empire becomes the inheritance of him who is the strongest and most wealthy.

Sidi Mahomet, desirous of fixing the public opinion concerning himself and accustoming the people to obedience, obtained from his father the government of Saffi, where he passed a part of his youth. Several European merchants had settled in this city, which, at that time, was the most commercial on the whole coast; and this prince, who was exceedingly easy of access, and whose views were equally to employ his time agreeably and to gain valuable information, frequently conversed with these merchants concerning the customs of Europe, the commerce of its nations, their taxes, and their mode of administration. At this time it was that Sidi Mahomet acquired those general, vague, and imperfect ideas, which since have unfolded themselves during the course of his reign, and which have given Europeans an advantageous opinion of his abilities, These are, perhaps, held in higher consideration among foreign nations than in his own

T 4 empire,

empire, where, however, the beſt judgement may be formed of his principles, by an actual view of their conſequences.

Deſirous of ſhewing himſelf in the provinces of the empire, Sidi Mahomet, while prince, pretended it was neceſſary he ſhould journey through them, in order to make the ſovereign authority reſpectable, which authority he inſenſibly appropriated to himſelf: he traverſed thoſe of Duquella, Tedla, and Temſena, where he levied many contributions, to his own profit, with a high hand. At his return, his father, who had retired to Fez, entruſted him with the government of Morocco, and there he reſided with one of his couſins, Muley Dris, an enlightened prince, who, in the firſt advances of Sidi Mahomet toward empire, aided him by his advice and abilities.

Of all the princes who had diſputed ſovereign power with Muley Abdallah, Muley Muſtadi was the only one who, whenever his brother ſhould die, might raiſe an inſurrection in the provinces of the North.

Sidi

Sidi Mahomet, in order to prevent any ſuch attempts, ſent him notice to quit Arzilla, and to go and reſide at Fez, where he, a ſhort time after, died.

The better to eſtabliſh his authority in the north of the empire, Sidi Mahomet left Morocco, in 1755, accompanied by an army, and preſented himſelf, during the month of Auguſt, before Rabat and Sallee, which places, ſince the reign of Muley Iſh-mael, had been governed by a ſpecial admi-niſtration of their own, and formed a kind of republic. This regency, though feuda-tory to the empire, appeared to preſcribe limits to the ſovereign authority. The in-habitants of theſe combined towns, known by the name of Saletines, or Sallee rovers, fitted out corſairs at their own expence, and were in poſſeſſion of the gains of pi-racy, and the advantages of commerce, which, by the ſituation of thoſe towns on the ſea ſhore, and the induſtry of the peo-ple, had become conſiderable.

The wealth and independence of theſe two cities afforded motives ſufficiently

powerful to enflame the ambition of the prince, covetous as he was of riches, and desirous of empire. Sidi Mahomet had further cause of enmity against these places, arising from the wavering state in which they remained during the revolutions that had disturbed the reign of his father. This was remembered with rancour by the prince, and thus had the recollection of the wealth they contained, their independence, and the part they had taken in behalf of Muley Mustadi, long excited his avidity and his resentment.

Rabat and Sallee, though united by a confederation, which situation, mutual convenience, and contiguity, rendered necessary, were, nevertheless, disturbed by that spirit of restlessness so natural to the Moors, and by a diversity of interests, which were continual and unceasing causes of quarrels and dissensions. On the approach of Sidi Mahomet, however, they united their forces, and resolved to refuse entrance to the prince.

Rabat,

Rabat, faithful to its engagements, obstinately defended its walls; but the Bashaw, Fenis, who commanded at Sallee, desirous of obtaining the favours of the prince, and by his submission of conferring an obligation on Sidi Mahomet, as he had before done on Muley Mustadi, repaired, in company with the principal men of the city, to the camp of the prince, on the 26th of August, there to supplicate for clemency and reward. Sidi Mahomet pardoned the Bashaw, Fenis, and sent him back exceedingly well satisfied, but, some time after, took an opportunity to effect his destruction, and had him stoned to death in his presence.

After the reduction of the city of Sallee, that of Rabat, which found a difficulty of preventing communication by the river, was also obliged to submit. Sidi Mahomet imprisoned the principal persons in the government, behaved to them like a haughty victor, and obliged them to pay heavy contributions. One of the inhabitants, whose name was Misteri, exceedingly wealthy, and at the head of the confederants, en-

gaged to ſupply the place with food himſelf during a year; but the brother of this republican betrayed him to the prince, whom he informed of the ſtate of the place. Miſteri was ſtripped of his property, as a puniſhment for his firm reſiſtance; and his brother was made governor of Rabat, as a reward for his treachery.

All the inhabitants of the city were made to feel the reſentment of the prince. Three merchant's houſes, two French, one Engliſh, and a Spaniſh convent, were not excepted. The monks, who had no property, were made ſlaves, and where afterward ranſomed. The merchants themſelves were not releaſed till each of them had firſt paid ten thouſand piaſtres, and theſe were paid in effects, which were eſtimated at ſo low a price that their ranſom amounted to double the ſum. The Engliſh merchant, for having ſold gunpowder to Muley Muſtadi, was treated with ſtill greater rigour; and, after having been expoſed to various humiliations and violences, hung himſelf in deſpair. The taking of Rabat and Sallee expoſed

expoſed the inhabitants of theſe two places to very conſiderable impoſitions, but coſt none of them their lives, the Baſhaw, Fenis, alone excepted, who was put to death ſome time afterward, and who was the ſole victim the prince appears to have ſacrificed to his reſentment. Perhaps this is the only act of cruelty with which he can be reproached; and, for the commiſſion of which, he has himſelf teſtified his repentance.

By that contradiction which is either natural to man, to the character of this prince, or, perhaps, to arbitrary power, Sidi Mahomet chaſtiſed Sallee for having received, and Rabat for not having received, Muley Muſtadi. He, with greater reaſon, reproached the inhabitants of the latter place for their conduct toward his brother, whom they had beſieged and almoſt ſtarved to death, in the caſtle where he had ſhut himſelf up, when defending the rights and intereſts of his father, Muley Abdallah.

After

After having ſubjected the cities of Rabat and Sallee, Sidi Mahomet marched into the North of the empire, where he obliged the Alcaid, Lucas, Governor of Tetuan, to render up an account of his adminiſtration. This Alcaid, who had taken advantage of the diſtance of the court, and the feebleneſs of the government, in the latter part of the reign of Muley Abdallah, to extend his own authority, was ſtripped of his property and power.

Sidi Mahomet reformed various abuſes during the life of his father, with whom he almoſt divided the empire, till, at laſt, Muley Abdallah, worn out by age, and ſtill more by the troubles he had met with during his reign, died on the 12th of November, 1757, in his palace at Fez, where he had only preſerved the ſhadow of authority.

Expoſed as he was himſelf, in the firſt years of his reign, to all the caprices of fortune, and as his ſubjects were to all thoſe of his own temper, this Emperor ſtill had ſome good qualities, which were clouded by

a much

a much greater number of vices. He poſſeſſed courage, judgment, and generoſity; but was violent, ſanguinary, and addicted to drunkenneſs, and to a depraved and infamous vice, which he made faſhionable at his court. The ferocity of his character ſeemed to be the conſequence of an atrabilarious conſtitution, and which diſplayed itſelf periodically, occaſioned, perhaps, by the greater or leſs agitation of the blood.

He one day made a preſent of two thouſand ducats to a confidential domeſtic, and adviſed him to go and live far from his preſence, that he might not be expoſed to the effects of his fury. The attachment to his maſter was ſo great that the ſervant refuſed, and, in one of his barbarous fits, Muley Abdallah ſhot this faithful ſervant, reproaching him with his folly for not having left him as he had been adviſed.

As he was paſſing the river of Beth on horſeback, at the place where it falls into the Seboo, the Emperor was in danger of being drowned, when one of his Negroes

ran

ran to his ſuccour and preſerved his life. The ſlave congratulated himſelf for having ſaved his maſter, when the Emperor, drawing his ſabre clave him down, and exclaimed, "Here is an infidel! To ſuppoſe "that he had ſaved me! As if God ſtood "in need of his intervention to ſave a "ſharif."

Without publicly neglecting the rites of the law, Muley Abdallah paid little reſpect to popular prejudices, and put to death ſeveral Moors, whoſe ſanctity had been held in veneration. He one day killed two Marabouts, who came from the neighbourhood of Tunis, and who informed him they were ſaints. "You "ſaints!" ſaid the Emperor. "You are "no ſaints. You are impoſtors, who, "abuſing the credulity of the people, "come here as ſpies." After which he fired a muſket at each, and laid them dead at his feet.

A ſaint, revered throughout the country, having come to the court of this prince to remonſtrate to him concerning his mode of life,

life, ſo contrary to the laws of Mahomet, ſaid to the Emperor: "The prophet him-"ſelf has ordained me to come, on his part, "and ſpeak to thee thus——And did the "prophet tell thee in what manner I "ſhould receive thee?—Yes, he told me "that you would be affected by the words "which he commanded me to ſpeak, and "that you would employ them to your "advantage—Then he has deceived thee," ſaid the Emperor, diſcharging at the ſame moment his piece, which laid the ſaint lifeleſs; and, farther to puniſh his temerity, he would not permit his body to be buried.

An Alcaid, who had been guilty of diſobedience, having come to the court of Muley Abdallah to implore pardon, the Emperor commanded him to be beheaded. He then ordered dinner to be ſerved to the officers who had accompanied this Alcaid, and to place in the diſh of Cooſcooſoo, out of which they were to eat, this bloody head, that they might not ſoon forget the puniſhment diſobedience merited.

Thus did this prince make his crimes and executions his amuſement. Enough has been ſaid of him; it were but to inſult humanity to add more traits of the cruelty of his character.

# BOOK V.

The reign of Sidi Mahomet—Commercial regulations—Adminiſtration, public and domeſtic—Inſurrections—Wars, Locuſts, Famine—Character of the Emperor—Commerce of the Empire—Duties, Coins, Weights, and Meaſures.

## INTRODUCTION.

After the death of Muley Abdallah, his only ſon, Sidi Mahomet, who, during the life of his father, had already accuſtomed the people to reſpect his authority, ſucceeded to the empire without oppoſition.

The reign of this Emperor has not been varied by revolutions, or victories; neither is it sullied by those acts of violence, and barbarity, which so dreadfully stained the sceptre of his predecessors. I have imagined, the best mode of giving a clear idea of his reign would be briefly to examine the several regulations attending it, and the principal events. These combined will present a faithful picture of the character, the genius, and the views of Sidi Mahomet, and of the present state of the empire of Morocco. I shall therefore speak separately of the dispositions and plans of this Emperor, relative to commerce and taxation, to the general administration of the government, the domestic and œconomical affairs of the palace, the few insurrections that have happened during his reign, and the events by which it has been distinguished.

## CHAP. I.

### *The dispositions and views of Sidi Mahomet relative to commerce and taxation.*

THE empire having been so long disturbed by revolutions, under the reign of Muley Abdallah, the distant provinces lived in a kind of independence. The governors had usurped more authority, and the treasury had been exhausted by the avidity of the soldiers, and the capricious manner in which money was squandered by that Emperor. Sidi Mahomet, ripened by age and experience when he ascended the throne, applied himself to find means of quickly re-establishing the finances, and supplying the state treasury, and with the care of making arbitrary power respected throughout the provinces, which power had

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been ſomewhat enfeebled by the concuſſions of the late troubleſome reign.

The information he had acquired, concerning commerce and taxation, occaſioned the Emperor to perceive that, of all political advantages, that which tended to revive commerce in a nation could alone augment its revenues, and repair its loſſes. The profits ariſing from piracy, an occupation which was expoſed to real loſſes and uncertain gains, might, on the one part, provoke the reſentment of nations, the maritime forces of which were daily augmenting, while, on the other, the barter of the productions of the empire would aſcertain to him thoſe more abundant reſources of wealth which accrue from agriculture.

Reflexions like theſe determined Sidi Mahomet to make peace with the powers of Europe. After confirming that already made between Morocco, England, and Holland, he, in the beginning of his reign, concluded treaties with Denmark and Sweden ſucceſſively; and, in the following

 years,

years, with the republic of Venice, France, Spain, and Portugal. In 1782, the Emperor and the Grand Duke of Tuſcany made peace, and the other powers of Italy enjoy a kind of truce with the empire of Morocco.

Before the reign of Sidi Mahomet the nations of Europe had formed commercial connections on the coaſt of Morocco, and thoſe who were not at peace with the empire ſtill enjoyed the ſafety of aſylum. True it is that the inſtability of the government ſomewhat diminiſhed the confidence of nations; and the little ſecurity the roads of Morocco afforded, in winter, was an obſtacle to the increaſe of navigation. At that time there were only a few ſafe ports on the coaſt of the empire. They were dangerous from the impediments of bars, and the ignorance, avarice, or evil intentions, of the pilots.

In order to aid commerce, and encreaſe the glory of his reign, Sidi Mahomet cauſed the town of Mogodor to be built in the ſouth part of his empire, where nature had formed

a port acceſſible in all ſeaſons. The Emperor encouraged foreign merchants to erect houſes in this new city, by giving them to ſuppoſe the duties of the cuſtoms ſhould be leſſened. The Moors and the Jews alſo built houſes there to pleaſe their Maſter; and Mogodor, as I have already obſerved, is built with more regularity than any other city of the empire.

After having thus founded Mogodor, the principal expence of which was ſupported by foreign commerce, the Emperor, who began to take delight in building, ordered the fortreſſes of Laracha and Rabat to be repaired, embelliſhed each of theſe cities with ſome edifices and public markets, and, at the ſame time, made additions to his palace at Morocco, for which he has a degree of predilection. After he had extended the circumference of this palace, he cauſed new pavillions to be added, built with taſte by European maſons.

In 1773, Sidi Mahomet commanded the foundation of the town of Fedale to be laid, which was then begun, but which has never

never been finiſhed. Theſe undertakings have been neglected, purſued, or again abandoned, according to the temporary change of circumſtances, or, perhaps, becauſe the revenues of the Emperor are inſufficient to ſupport ſuch expences. Neither do cities ſeem ſo neceſſary, in theſe temperate climates, where the people are habituated to a ſolitary country life, as they are in latitudes leſs mild.

The confidence which the regulations, political views, and perſonal character, of Sidi Mahomet inſpired, among foreign nations, at firſt multiplied mercantile eſtabliſhments on the coaſt of Morocco. Merchants ſettled at Santa Cruz, Mogodor, Saffi, Rabat, Laracha, and Tetuan. There were even too many, and their purpoſes were ſubverted by their own eagerneſs. The Emperor ſucceſſively increaſed the duties, hoping thereby to augment his revenues; but this oppreſſion, however, produced an effect the very reverſe. Shackled thus by taxation, commerce grew languid.

The Emperor, pretending to give it new animation, became a merchant himſelf; and this did but increaſe the evil, for it did but increaſe reſtraint. Obliged to ſell their wares and to purchaſe the country products at ſuch prices as the deſpot pleaſed to fix, merchants became merely his factors, and were conſtrained to remove from port to port in his empire, wherever he choſe to indicate, as beſt ſuited his convenience, or to thoſe to which he gave the preference.

By this means the channel of trade was interrupted. The farmer and the foreign trader, reaping no fruit from the labours of their induſtry, and unable to reſiſt the current of authority, are wholly diſcouraged; the fields lie waſte, the markets are deſerted, and, of all the mercantile houſes diſperſed over the coaſt of Morocco, there ſcarcely remain ſix. United at Mogodor, and accuſtomed to the variations of the government, they have to ſtruggle againſt the extortions excited by the ſpirit of intereſt, and which, at one moment increaſed,

creafed, at the next relaxed, are never certain.

More enlightened than his predeceffors, Sidi Mahomet, in 1766, made a regulation which betokened extenfive views; but, not being directed by invariable principles, its effect was merely momentary. At that time there was a confiderable quantity of corn amaffed, in the maritime provinces, which long had been inclofed in Matamores *, and there expofed to perifh, exportation being prohibited by the law. The Emperor, whofe fyftem was more humane and more œconomical, wifhing to conciliate the wants of the nation with its prejudices, and give his plan a legal fanction, affembled the learned in the law, and propofed to them his difficulties concerning the exportation of corn.

* Corn can only be preferved in fuch kind of pits in hot countries; and it appears probable that the reafon is becaufe the corn, there, is firm and hard. The wheat reaped in the northern countries of Europe, which is called foft corn, could not be fo preferved. Yet this difference in the grain is accidental, and relative to the nature of the foil and the climate, and not to its own inherent qualities.

"I have

" I have need," ſaid the Emperor, " of
" arms and ammunition, for the defence of
" our religion ; but, by purchaſing them,
" I muſt exhauſt the treaſures of the ſtate.
" Would it be contrary to our law to pro-
" cure theſe things, by giving in exchange
" corn which we cannot eat ourſelves, and
" which, in time, muſt periſh ?"

The propoſition was ſo clear, and the neceſſity alſo of approving the will of the deſpot ſo great, that the aſſembly concluded ſuch barter would be entirely legal, and the exportation of corn was permitted in exchange for mortars, cannon, and gunpowder. The Emperor, at length, received money for it, becauſe that, with money, arms and ammunition may be bought. In a ſhort time he had collected not only artillery, bombs, and mortars, but ſome millions of livres, while the provinces that had ſold their corn had this additional reſource to pay their enforced contributions, which, in the Empire of Morocco, is the uſual conſequence of wealth, a tax on their fickleneſs, and the pledge of their

their fidelity. Thus did this excellent regulation benefit the Emperor alone.

The exportation of corn from the coaſt of Morocco would become an inexhauſtible ſource of barter and wealth, to the ſubject and to the ſtate, were only a moderate taxation impoſed, which might encourage agriculture. But, in free ſtates only, and governments that ſeriouſly are active to procure happineſs to man, are ſuch advantages well underſtood; therefore do we only behold the lands rich and fruitful in thoſe happy countries where agriculture is encouraged; while the provinces of Morocco, naturally fertile, yet overrun with brambles, are little better than deſerts, and where the generations of men languiſh and inſenſibly diminiſh.

CHAP.

# CHAP. II.

## *Of the public Adminiſtration under Sidi Mahomet.*

IT has before been ſhewn that the government of Morocco is wholly ſubordinate to the will of the deſpot, and that he confides the regulation of the provinces and cities of his empire to his Alcaids and Baſhaws. It has likewiſe been obſerved that the Emperor himſelf, three times a week, gives public audiences to enforce juſtice, and at which all his ſubjects, without exception, are heard. This ſyſtem, which cannot be too much admired, prevents malverſation, and the abuſe of authority among the chiefs. It gives the ſovereign an opportunity of knowing the truth, which it is the intereſt of his courtiers to conceal, of becoming acquainted with whatever

whatever paſſes in his ſtates, even to their utmoſt boundaries, and enables him to ſuperintend the adminiſtration of juſtice.

After the acceſſion of Sidi Mahomet, this judicious Emperor, deſirous of effacing all recollection of the caprices of his father, wholly employed himſelf in the reſtoration of order, of re-eſtabliſhing rules for government, and uniformity in the deciſions of juſtice. Well knowing the talents and penetration of Muley Dris, his relation, with whom he had paſſed a part of his youth, he made him his friend, repoſed entire confidence in him, and almoſt raiſed him to the rank of his aſſociate in the empire.

Muley Dris was a penetrating and enlightened prince. Though covetous of riches, he ſtill was generous to his Maſter. Subtle, ſagacious, and fertile in expedients, he ſoon brought all affairs to paſs through his hands, and almoſt governed the empire under the ſhadow of the monarch. That he might conform to the taſte of the Emperor, he appeared in public with the utmoſt

moſt ſimplicity. But, for this abſtinence, he amply recompenſed himſelf in his palace and in his gardens, where he lived voluptuouſly.

Muley Dris almoſt excluſively appropriated to himſelf the adminiſtration of European affairs. This was to him a ſecret ſource of wealth, which, by his management and addreſs, became inexhauſtible. Not one perſon at the court of Morocco could treat ſuch ſubjects with greater dexterity, or could ſo artfully varniſh, or give effect to, his good or his ill offices. Full of diſſimulation with foreigners, who came to viſit him, he oſtentatiouſly diſplayed his cabinets, richly ornamented with ſilver plate, china, and jewels, which he had received as preſents from various courts. Like a cunning courtezan, who knows artfully to ſtimulate the generoſity of her lover, he, with ſubtlety, inſinuated to one nation how much he had received from another, to excite emulation, and the deſire of pleaſing him, by the largeneſs of their gifts. Thus acquainted with the human heart, he ſported with the vanity of individuals,

individuals, and raiſed a rivalſhip between nations.

The wealth which Muley Dris had thus accumulated has had a ſimilar fate to that of all other individuals, in Morocco, who have preceded him, or ſurvived. Acquired as it was by the influence of the ſovereign, it has become a part of the treaſures of the ſtate, which muſt, at length, inſenſibly engulph the whole riches of the empire. This prince was, various times before his death, ſtripped of a part of his property, and the Emperor took care to ſecure what remained after his deceaſe, fearing leſt his children, who were young, might make an ill uſe of their money.

Muley Dris, after having indulged in pleaſure to exceſs, died in March, 1772, of a dropſy, which appeared to be the conſequence of his irregularities. He made an immoderate uſe of the Achicha, which is of a nature ſo heating, and which rendered him ſo choleric and ferocious, that there was no barbarity he was not capable to

commit during his intoxication. He had inherited the vices of his anceſtors, was intemperate, covetous, and cruel; and, had fortune raiſed him to power, he would have walked in the paths of Muley Arſhid, Muley Iſhmael, and Muley Abdallah.

After the death of this prince, Sidi Mahomet having no confidential perſon whom he entruſted, indulged his own character more freely. Some of his ſelfiſh agents, whom he appoints or depoſes at pleaſure, are charged with the execution of his orders. They are become the inſtruments by whom all buſineſs muſt be tranſacted, and negociations are now more tedious and more uncertain. Each new reſolution is expoſed to thoſe variations which muſt be the reſult, under a government the ſyſtem of which is to conſult the intereſt of the moment.

CHAP.

## CHAP. III.

*Of the domeſtic affairs and interior œconomy of the palace.*

SIDI Mahomet does not awe the ſpectator by any oſtentation of magnificence. The friend of ſimplicity, and without the leaſt inclination for luxury, this Emperor is only diſtinguiſhed from the grandees of his court by being on horſeback, and protected from the ſunbeams by an umbrella, which, in Morocco, is the diſtinctive mark of ſovereignty. The numerous retinue of officers, ſoldiers, pages, and ſecretaries, who appertain to the court, beſpeak the preſence of the monarch, who never appears in public but on horſeback, or in his caleſh. He is never ſeen on foot, except in his palace, at his devotions, or, on ſome few occaſions, in his gardens. He

never travels in a carriage, becaufe of the bad ftate of the roads.

The Emperor of Morocco, only on days of ceremony, or when he holds his Me-fhooar, that is, his council, or audience, appears with all his pomp, which then rather confifts in the number than in the fplendour of his train. When he leaves his palace, for his amufement or to vifit the public works, he difplays no pomp; and he has been fometimes feen in a fhallop, on the Sallee river, with not more than two attendants.

The cuftoms of the court of Morocco, and thofe of the Ottoman court, bear no refemblance. The latter is remarkable for its magnificence, the former for its ruftic fimplicity. At the court of the Grand Seignior, the adminiftration of the government, and that of the palace, are entrufted to a number of minifters, who themfelves live in great ftate, and poffefs great power. At Morocco, the Defpot grants his fubjects only fleeting and momentary confidence. They attend on him but to exe-

cute

cute his commands, without poſſeſſing any ſtable or permanent authority.

Female negro ſlaves have the care of the palace, and of the kitchen. The Emperor has occaſionally ſent for European cooks and bakers; but, wanting the conveniences to which they had been accuſtomed, unacquainted with the manners of the Moors, ignorant of the language, and not eaſily habituating themſelves to a kind of wandering life, theſe Europeans never ſettled at the court of Morocco. The monarch being, alſo, naturally temperate, troubles himſelf little concerning ſuch things. He has not ſo much as any fixed hour of dinner.

The table of the palace is ſerved with great uniformity. The Moors eat only to live, and are unacquainted with that multitude of diſhes, and that variety of ſauces, which, in Europe, are objects of ſo much induſtry and expence. Sidi Mahomet generally eats alone, and thoſe officers who perſonally attend on him are afterward ſerved from his table. Each of the Emperor's

wives has a separate table, which is sufficiently supplied to suffice for all her attendants. Coofcoofoo, which has been described in its proper place, is the chief dish of the Moors, as well in the palace of the Emperor as in the hovel of the subject; and this is dressed in such quantities that the vessel that contains it is sometimes carried on a kind of chairman's horse.

The palace of the Emperor contains numerous servants of both sexes, who are new cloathed once a year. On this occasion all the taylors in the city are summoned, who usually are Jews, and they are obliged to labour gratis. This is a species of corvée, or tax, for which they indemnify themselves, when they can, by filching. Most trades are obliged to work gratis for the Emperor. The proprietor of a lime kiln must set apart a tenth for the service of the monarch; each article of merchandize, or industry, which is subjected to a like taxation, becomes more dear in proportion, and what the prince does not pay the purchaser must. The Emperor is served by slaves, who receive no other wages than what arise from

from the profits or perquisites of the business they transact. He is at no expence, except that of feeding and cloathing his family, and which yet is defrayed out of the product of the tenths, and the custom-house duties, so that he seldom has any occasion to disburse money.

In the palace of the Emperor is a guard of women, with their female commanders, who are called Harriffa, and who form a kind of court, the province of which is the chastisement of women. These Harriffa are sent over the country to put the wives of the grandees to the torture, when the latter are imprisoned, and to make them confess all they know concerning the wealth of their husbands.

The luxury of the ladies of the palace is not very great. They depend on the generosity of the sovereign, which, in Sidi Mahomet, is wholly actuated by the greater or less degree of love they inspire. Such women as have not greatly pleased the monarch are often neglected, forgotten, and left in one imperial city, when the Em-

peror removes to another. This practice gives credibility to the opinion that accefs to the palace of the Emperor, in Morocco, is not fo difficult as at Conftantinople, where the women are fhut up, and guarded with greater aufterity. The women at the court of the Grand Seignior are kept in much greater fplendor, and are held in much higher efteem than in thefe fouthern climates, where the Seraglio is renewed fo often that they can only infpire a fleeting paffion. The prefent Emperor has been known to fend back to a Bafhaw one of his daughters, to whom he had been only married fix months.

The wives of the Emperor of Morocco, who are legally efpoufed, are not flaves, but are generally either princeffes, the daughters of Sharifs, the daughters of the governors of provinces, or of private individuals. The Great Queen, for fuch is the title they give to the firft wife, was the daughter of Muley Soliman, and grand daughter of Muley Arfhid. This princefs, who, by right of priority, had precedence over all the other women of the palace,

enjoyed,

enjoyed, during her life, by the rights of birth and perſonal merit, a very high aſcendancy over the mind of the Emperor. The very ſame reaſon, alſo, enſured to her the attachment and veneration of the people, ſhe having ever, with the utmoſt prudence, attended to the government of Morocco, when the monarch was abſent. The regret of the empire, at her death, was equal to her merit and her virtues.

Sidi Mahomet has a great number of children. His daughters, married to ſharifs, have diſtricts aſſigned them, and, during the life of the Emperor, reſide in the palace, where they are miſtreſſes of their own actions. In order to provide for his ſons, as ſoon as they are married the Emperor beſtows upon them the governments of provinces and cities, where theſe young princes, indulging all the intemperance and follies of youth, and yielding to the advice and rapacity of their ſervants, inflict every kind of vexation, while the ſubjects have neither the fortitude nor the liberty to complain. Thus, in the adminiſtration of their offices do they imbibe the art of oppreſſing the people,

people; and, when their extortions raiſe univerſal diſcontent, which can no longer be concealed, they are puniſhed by confiſcation for the benefit of the public treaſury. After this diſplay of juſtice, oppreſſion once more recommences; the treaſury ſwells, and the miſerable people are the eternal victims.

CHAP.

## CHAP. IV.

*Revolutions that have happened during the reign of Sidi Mahomet.*

NOTWITHSTANDING the restless spirit of the provinces, under the ever-agitated reign of Muley Abdallah, the tranquillity became great, when Sidi Mahomet ascended the throne. That discontent, which ever must arise from public wretchedness, may often have brooded in secret, but has since seldom burst forth. This Emperor has maintained a calm throughout his states, by occasionally going in person to their utmost boundaries. Wherever he appeared, some pretext for levying contributions generally has attended him; either originating in complaints against the governors, or in the prejudices and divisions which are unceasing, among those tribes which

which inhabit the provinces. The paſſions by which the Moors are tormented are never ending motives for inflicting pecuniary puniſhment. All their quarrels, their reconciliations, all acts of authority, of mercy, or of juſtice, are inceſſantly concluded by the payment of ſome quintals of ſilver. Such trifling diſputes give the monarch no inquietude; they do but draw his attention for a moment. It is even a part of his policy to maintain and provoke theſe miſunderſtandings; they are the ſafeguard of the deſpot, and ſeldom fail to turn to the advantage of his treaſury.

Sidi Mahomet had reigned fifteen years, when, in 1772, ſome ſeeds of thoſe revolutions, which had ſo often overthrown this empire in its birth, began to appear. A Marabout, whoſe enthuſiaſtic imagination was enflamed by pride and fanaticiſm, departed from the ſouth, which had been the cradle of all the ancient dynaſties, accompanied by a number of his diſciples, united by the ſpirit of bigottry.

Theſe viſionaries, amounting to about three thouſand, went to Morocco, and informed the Emperor that the end of his reign approached, and that their chief was to become the ſovereign. The only arms of the companions of this Marabout were fanatic predictions, and clubs, which they, in the extravagance of their phrenzy, propheſied ſhould be transformed into guns, while the arms of their adverſaries ſhould, on the contrary, be metamorphoſed into clubs.

It ſo happened, however, that their prophecies were not fulfilled. The enthuſiaſts were hewn down, and put to flight, like cowards, by a few ſoldiers; and their chief, who had encouraged them in their reveries, having been ſeized in a moſque, was led before the Emperor at his public audience. The Marabout anſwered all interrogatories with the fortitude and impudence of an inſpired perſon, and the Emperor commanded him to be put to death, at the Meſhooar, as a diſturber of the public peace.

From that time, till the year 1778, the provinces gave no ſigns of ſedition ſufficient to inſpire fear. Thoſe of the north, according to the cuſtom of this people, began to be a little troubleſome when the Emperor was in the ſouth, and thoſe of the ſouth did juſt the ſame when he was in the north; but the preſence of the monarch, and pecuniary fines, brought them back to obedience; and thus did the Emperor at once increaſe his wealth and confirm his authority.

The treaſury was exhauſted, in 1774, by the ſiege of Melilla, and a ſucceſſion of calamities having prevented the Emperor proportioning his expences to his revenues, and again filling his coffers, he found himſelf obliged to increaſe the old taxes, and even to add new. The Negroes, the arrears of whoſe pay progreſſively increaſed, murmured againſt theſe new taxes, and, at length, in October 1778, drove the tax gatherers from Mequinez, and ſeized on the city.

After

After an act of such open rebellion, the Negroes sent a deputation to Muley Ali, at Fez, the eldest son of Sidi Mahomet, to offer him the empire. This wise prince, incapable of failing in the respect he owed to his father, rejected the proposal, endeavoured ineffectually to calm the minds of the people, and thought proper to retire to Rabat, that he might not provoke the insolence of the Negroes by a more obstinate refusal.

Muley Ali having thus declined, the Negroes determined to apply to Muley Yezid, who did not betoken the like repugnance to the throne, and this prince, beloved by the soldiers, was publicly proclaimed at the hour of prayer. This revolution caused an insurrection at Mequinez. The governor of that city found a difficulty in escaping, amid the firing of muskets, and his house was pillaged and pulled down.

Muley Yezid, notwithstanding, thought proper to inform his father of what had happened, and make excuses concerning the facility with which he had yielded to the

the desire of the soldiers, hoping by that means once more to reduce them to obedience. This conduct of Muley Yezid, and some misintelligence among the Negroes, relaxed the progress of the revolution, which would have been effected, had the prince, who was neither possessed of money nor credit, marched at the head of his troops to Rabat. Reinforced as he would have been by eight thousand Negroes, who were there assembled, he might easily have made himself master of the treasury, which had, very injudiciously, for some years, been distributed in the cities of Rabat, Laracha, and Tangiers. The possession of these places, which might have been taken in a week, would have rendered Muley Yezid master of the empire. The first effervescence of tumult over, as is the case in all popular commotions, sedition weakened in consequence of reflection, of the inexperience of the prince, and the irresolution of the soldiers, who, themselves, had only a confused idea of the insurrections their predecessors had so often raised, in the beginning of this century. A calm succeeded this slight tempest, and the revolt

volt at Mequinez ceaſed of itſelf without farther progreſs.

Informed of this rebellion, the Emperor departed from Morocco with his troops, and, on his march, ſecured the fidelity of thoſe who were at Rabat. He then continued his way to Mequinez, where he was received as a ſovereign. Each party, equally agitated by fear, gave contradictory relations of what had paſſed.

From Mequinez the Emperor went to Fez. This city, which, from its extent and antiquity, has ſome preponderance in the affairs of the empire, had adopted ſimilar ideas to thoſe of the ſoldiers, had ſtrengthened their diſſatisfaction, and given it importance. The principal citizens, and men of the law, being reproached by the Emperor for their diſobedience to his orders, replied, with like firmneſs and reſpect, "That the city of Fez meaned not to diſ-
"obey him, nor ever ſo could mean, but
"that the taxes laid on proviſions, the in-
"creaſe of duties on merchants, and the

" new impoſts which had been laid, and
" which Muſſelmen regarded as contrary
" to their cuſtoms, and inimical to reli-
" gion, were conſiderations that, to a
" prince ſo juſt and ſo religious, might ex-
" cuſe the general murmur and diſcontent
" of the people."

Sidi Mahomet, yielding to circumſtances, prudently diſſembled all reſentment; but, being convinced by intercepted letters that his ſon, Muley Yezid, maintained a correſpondence with the Brebes, which was ſuſceptible of dangerous interpretation, he cauſed him to be confined, and afterward ſent him on pilgrimage to Mecca, by that means to calm his unbridled paſſions, and render him more circumſpect. Grown wiſer by age and experience, the prince reaped thoſe fruits from this voyage which are the uſual conſequences of the ſtudy of men, and the knowledge gained by viſiting foreign nations.

However inclined to clemency, Sidi Mahomet could not forget the audacious conduct of his negro ſoldiers at Mequinez,

and accordingly took meaſures to rid himſelf of theſe turbulent troops, the impatience of which daily became more burdenſome, and whoſe fickleneſs and avarice had ſo frequently been experienced by his father.

The exhauſted treaſury could with difficulty ſupply the pay of the troops. The country, ravaged as it had been by locuſts, in 1779, and by three ſucceſſive years of dearth for want of rain, which increaſed its wretchedneſs, no longer permitted the people to pay thoſe impoſts which time and circumſtances had multiplied. There were not above ten millions of livres, or ſomewhat more than four hundred thouſand pounds, in the treaſury, and four of theſe millions were neceſſary for the ſupport, in theſe calamitous times, of thirty, or thirty-five thouſand negro cavalry.

In this embarraſſing ſituation the Emperor determined, in 1780, to reduce a part of theſe forces, from whoſe unquiet ſpirit he had every thing to dread. That he might diſguiſe his intention, and prevent thoſe inconveniences which might other-

wiſe have been the reſult, he ſent theſe Negroes away by detachments, pretending they muſt go and be quartered in the provinces; and, by an after order, ſent ſtill ſtronger detachments to diſarm the firſt, and appoint them lands, in different countries, ſufficiently diſtant from each other for him not to live in fear of their communication. A part of them, the fidelity of whoſe chiefs he was aſſured of, were ſtill maintained; thus, in the courſe of ſixty years, the hundred thouſand armed Negroes, whom Muley Iſhmael had left, and their poſterity, are reduced to about fifteen thouſand ſoldiers. All the remainder have diſappeared.

CHAP.

## CHAP. V.

### *Of the Wars, Locusts, Famine, and other events, under the reign of Sidi Mahomet.*

THE Emperor having employed the beginning of his reign to re-establish commerce throughout his states, he afterward made various incursions into the provinces bordering on the mountains, there to confirm and render his power respectable. These expeditions, undertaken from motives of interest, conciliation, and peace, never were of that impetuous and cruel kind with those by which the people had so often been afflicted, under the barbarous government of his predecessors.

Scarcely had this Emperor collected, in 1767 and 1768, a quantity of artillery, than, in

in the beginning of 1769, he made preparations for the siege of Mazagan, which the Portuguese had resolved to evacuate, and which surrendered in the month of march, in the same year.

Flattered by this conquest, Sidi Mahomet, who thus inspired Europe with a greater idea of his puissance, and his people with higher awe, meditated projects still more ambitious. Having permitted farther exportations of corn, from the year 1771 to the close of 1773, he still farther increased his train of artillery ; and, in order to conceal his intentions, he went into the north of his empire, and took up his residence for some time at Rabat and Sallee. The dislike which the Emperor had entertained to these two cities, which, in times of former revolutions, had thrown off their allegiance to his father, served as a pretence to make researches concerning the effects and houses that had appertained to the royal domain, and he recovered that vast inclosure which, since the reign of Jacob Almonsor, after having so often had new masters,

maſters, had been embelliſhed by gardens and a fine vineyard.

When this vineyard flouriſhed, ſix pounds of exceeding good grapes might have been bought for a blanquil, worth about ſeven farthings. In 1775 a ſingle pound of grapes coſt ſix blanquils, or ten pence, ſo that the price was increaſed in the proportion of thirty ſix to one.

Beſide this eſtimable incloſure, the inhabitants of Rabat farther loſt ſeveral houſes, and were even expoſed to the licentiouſneſs of the ſoldiery, which, during this time of prejudice, ſtole, with impunity, their flocks, their fruits, and corn. Sidi Mahomet cauſed the ground plot of a new town to be marked out, in a place called Guadel, which, in the idiom of the country, ſignifies reſerve, and to which town he gave this ſame name, and cauſed it to be inhabited by five thouſand of his Negro troops.

Guadel, which this monarch cauſed to be embelliſhed with various moſques and

 public

public edifices, is at preſent deſerted, and the houſes have all gone to ruin ſince the time when, from political motives, the Negroes were reduced and diſperſed. Scarcely built in 1776, this town was no more, in 1781, than a frightful heap of ruins, which ſeemed to have eſcaped the fury of men and of the elements. The monarch afterward, more juſt, ſuffered each individual to reclaim his property. But the remembrance of oppreſſion ſo recent has diſguſted the inhabitants of Rabat, who are little anxious to recover poſſeſſions the limits of which they do not know, and the titles to which are no longer in their own power.

The project which the Emperor ſecretly meditated was not diſcovered till the year 1774. He then aſſembled, in the heart of his empire, troops, artillery, and ammunition, and, after having maſked his views, under pretext of hoſtilities, at one time againſt the city of Fez, at another againſt the mountaineers, he began his march to lay ſiege to Melilla. The Emperor pretended, for ſuch were his expreſſions, that

 he

he was only at peace by ſea with his friend Don Carlos, which he was very deſirous to maintain, but that they were not at peace by land.

This diſtinction, characteriſtic of the Moors, and which originated in the hope of ſucceſs, gave great offence to the court of Spain, which ſent ſpeedy ſuccour for the defence of Melilla, and broke off all correſpondence with the court of Morocco. Sidi Mahomet might eaſily have taken the place, had he at firſt attacked it vigorouſly, becauſe that, depending on the faith of treaties, it was then but feebly garriſoned. But General Sherlof, having entered Melilla with between ſeven and eight hundred men, made ſo courageous a defence that the Emperor had cauſe to repent of an enterpriſe, the ſucceſs of which failed, which had coſt him vaſt ſums, and which the Moors ſeemed ſecretly to have diſapproved.

Sidi Mahomet was obliged to remove his camp farther from the walls, the cannon of which

which thundered upon his army. It was also annoyed by some frigates, which, notwithstanding the narrow space they had to act in, manœuvred very ably. The Moors were so discouraged that, could the Spaniards have attacked them with any considerable force, they must have put them to flight, and taken the baggage and artillery.

The siege of Melilla had occasioned expences, and met with impediments that had not been foreseen. The cannon and ammunition were to be transported across the lesser Atlas, a mixture of vallies and mountains, among which there scarcely was a path. These stoney and ill-cultivated countries were also unable to supply provender, and this was obliged to be brought at such an excessive expence that the keep of a horse amounted to half a crown per day. The soldiery must likewise be encouraged by gratifications, so that the whole of these expences sunk more than thirty millions of livres, or one million two hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling, which was an immense sum for a state

ſtate ſo poor and exhauſted. The Emperor ſaw himſelf obliged to abandon his undertaking; and, that he might prevent thoſe impreſſions which his retreat might make on the Moors, he cauſed it to be rumoured, through the provinces, that the King of Spain would yield him up Melilla, as ſoon as he could quell the diſcontents of the Monks, who highly diſliked the ceſſion of that place. Rejoicings were made on the receiving of this news, and Sidi Mahomet returned to Mequinez, in the beginning of 1775, exceedingly chagrined with his own proceedings, and highly dreading the reſentment of the court of Spain, and the formidable armament that was then preparing, not knowing that it was intended againſt Algiers. The Emperor was, in effect, in the utmoſt perplexity, and with reaſon, at beholding the gathering ſtorm; nor was he more tranquil till he knew the true deſtination of that fleet, and heard of its failure.

After having thus provoked the reſentment of the court of Madrid, the monarch employed all poſſible means to ef-

fect

fect a reconciliation; but the Spaniards, for some time, preserved that rancour which a conduct so perfidious had inspired. A change in the affairs of Europe having occasioned explanations between the courts, peace was re-established in 1780, and, during its negociation, Sidi Mahomet did every thing which he supposed might be most agreeable to the king of Spain, and might induce him to forget the past.

When Sidi Mahomet prepared for the siege of Melilla, he declared war against Holland, finding the present sent by the republic, on some extraordinary occasion, not equal to his expectations. Hence it may be judged how little confidence ought to be placed in the friendship of a monarch who sets his friendship up to sale, as actuated by whim, or interest. Holland fitted out ships for the protection of her commmerce, and, after a defensive war, when she might have done much better, renewed the peace in 1778, and increased her largess.

During

During the reign of Sidi Mahomet, the locufts, which fo often afflict the fouthern climates, have various times ravaged the empire of Morocco; but never fo generally or fo fatally as after the year 1778. In the fummer of that fame year, fuch clouds of locufts came from the fouth that they darkened the air, and devoured a part of the harveft. Their offspring, which they left on the ground, committed ftill much greater mifchief. Locufts appeared and bred anew in the following year, fo that in the fpring the country was wholly covered, and they crawled one over the other in fearch of their fubfiftence.

It has before been remarked, in fpeaking of the climate of Morocco, that the young locufts are thofe which are the moft mifchievous; and that it feems almoft impoffible to rid the land of thefe infects, and their ravages, when the country once becomes thus afflicted. In order to preferve the houfes and gardens in the neighbourhood of cities, they dig a ditch two feet in depth, and as much in width. This they pallifade with reeds clofe to each other,

and

and inclined inward toward the ditch; so that the insects, unable to climb up the slippery reed, fall back into the ditch, where they devour one another.

This was the means by which the gardens and vineyards of Rabat, and the city itself, were delivered from this scourge, in 1779. The intrenchment, which was, at least, a league in extent, formed a semicircle from the sea to the river, which separates Rabat from Sallee. The quantity of young locusts here assembled was so prodigious that, on the third day, the ditch could not be approached because of the stench. The whole country was eaten up; the very bark of the fig, pomegranate, and orange tree, bitter, hard, and corrosive as it was, could not escape the voracity of these insects.

The lands, ravaged throughout all the western provinces, produced no harvest, and the Moors, being obliged to live on their stores, which the exportation of corn (permitted till 1774) had drained, began to feel a dearth. Their cattle, for which they make

make no provision, and which, in these climates, have no other subsistance than that of daily grazing, died with hunger; nor could any be preserved but those which were in the neighbourhood of mountains, or in marshy grounds, where the re-growth of pasturage is more rapid.

In 1780, the distress was still farther increased. The dry winter had checked the products of the earth, and given birth to a new generation of locusts, that devoured whatever had escaped from the inclemency of the season. The husbandman did not reap even what he had sowed, and found himself destitute of food, cattle, or seed corn. In this time of extreme wretchedness, the poor felt all the horrors of famine. They were seen wandering over the country to devour roots, and, perhaps, abridged their days by digging into the entrails of the earth in search of the crude means by which they might be preserved.

Vast numbers perished of indigestible food and want. I have beheld country people in the roads, and in the streets, who had

had died of hunger, and who were thrown acroſs aſſes to be taken and buried. Fathers ſold their children. The huſband, with the conſent of his wife, would take her into another province, there to beſtow her in marriage as if ſhe were his ſiſter, and afterward come and reclaim her, when his wants were no longer ſo great. I have ſeen women and children run after camels, and rake in their dung to ſeek for ſome indigeſted grain of barley, which, if they found, they devoured with avidity.

Let us not dwell too long on woes which thus afflict humanity, and of which ſo many thouſands, whoſe hearts are rendered inſenſible of pity by plenty, have no conception. The miſery would have been much greater, had not Spain and Portugal, where the harveſts had been tolerably abundant, permitted the exportation of oil, butter, dried fruits, and other proviſions, and particularly the corn of the north, which happily, at that time, was plentiful at Cadiz and at Liſbon. This corn, which had paſſed through ſo many hands, was ſold in the markets of Sallee at one hundred

dred and twenty livres, or five pounds, the meaſure, which meaſure correſponds with the Setier of Paris *. Bad oil and rancid butter were worth one hundred and eighty livres, or ſeven pounds ten ſhillings, the quintal. Peas, beans, and lentils, which abound in theſe countries, were become objects of ſo much luxury that they were counted out by grains, and twelve or fifteen were ſold for a denier. During three or four years of dearth, the people ate bread which, by the mixture of the ſpecies of grain, and its bad quality, was exceedingly heavy, and difficult of digeſtion. Good bread was worth from ſix-pence to ſeven-pence halfpenny the pound, and other articles of ſubſiſtence in proportion.

Afflicting and extreme as the calamities of the empire at this time were, the awful reſignation of theſe unhappy people, to the

* According to the author's eſtimate (See page 328 of Vol. I.) that the Setier of Paris weighs two hundred and a half, this meaſure will contain ſomewhat under four buſhels. T.

decrees of Providence, could not be beheld but with aſtoniſhment ; they ſupported their afflictions without complaint, becauſe that, according to their faith, all things are decreed by the Moſt High, and nothing happens but as pre-ordained by his will. Europeans, leſs reſigned, more reſtleſs, or, perhaps, more accuſtomed to confide in the cares of an adminiſtration the province of which is to provide for all their wants, are impatient and clamorous during times of ſcarcity ; and, ſuſpecting abuſes, which ſuſpicions may be ſometimes well founded, they charge their governors with careleſs-neſs or guilt. Plenty, or ſcarcity, never-theleſs, depend moſt evidently on the fertility or intemperance of ſeaſons ; when not occaſioned by monopolies, or the exceſs of exportation and importation.

The miſeries the empire of Morocco underwent, in conſequence of the fore-going evils, made it impoſſible for the Moors to pay their taxes ; the efforts of commerce ſlackened, and the revenues of the ſtates diminiſhed in proportion.

The

The roads soon became unsafe, travellers were obliged to be provided with escorts, the provinces were in a state of warfare, reciprocally to rob each other of what had escaped from the ravages of locusts, and the unfavourableness of the seasons. From the districts of Rabat and Sallee to the Morbeya, the whole of the provinces of Temsena and Tedla were, for the space of two or three years, exposed to depredations, which the public calamity might excuse, since they were not excited by the spirit of sedition. Such troubles, which resemble passing storms, are soon appeased, without the interference of government, when plenty restores tranquillity, and once more cools and bridles the restlessness and rapacity of the people.

In the year 1783, the Emperor made an excursion to Tafilet, with a detachment of troops; that city, and its environs, inhabited by numerous Sharifs desirous of power, had for some time been exposed to civil commotions, which were entirely appeased by the presence of the sovereign. Sidi Mahomet levied, in the province and

on the eaſtern borders of the greater Atlas, heavy contributions, to puniſh the turbulence of the people.

While the Emperor was at Tafilet, the whole empire ſuffered a great loſs by the death of Muley Ali, the eldeſt of his ſons, who died at Fez, at the age of forty four, in conſequence of a relapſe of a neglected or ill-cured fever. This prince poſſeſſed all the qualities neceſſary to render his people happy; he had not inherited from his anceſtors that impetuous and cruel character which, without conſtituting the happineſs of kings, never fails to render nations miſerable. Appointed by his father to the government of Fez, which is one of the moſt conſiderable in the empire, Muley had behaved with ſo much prudence, and diſintereſtedneſs, that, the Emperor having commanded him to render up an account of all he poſſeſſed, the city of Fez conſented to pay the ſum the ſovereign exacted, that the prince might be maintained in his government, and continue in the good graces of his father.

The

The disinterestedness of Muley Ali, which was a very high recommendation to him among the people, had, perhaps, weakened the affection of his father, who had not the same manner of thinking. Sidi Mahomet having laid a tax on his son, which was to be paid for the benefit of his brothers, commanded him to raise the sum required on the community of the Jews, who, not being, he said, in the road to salvation, merited no pity.—"Sire," replied Muley Ali, "the Jews are so poor that they "are incapable of supporting their present "taxes, and it is impossible I should exact "from them new ones. Should you so "please, you may dispose of the revenues "of my government for the benefit of "my brothers; but I earnestly suppli-"cate you will not require me to op-"press these people, and thus oblige "me to increase wretchedness already "too great."

Such anecdotes prove with how much reason the people regretted the loss of this prince. I was well acquainted with his

worth; the confidence with which he honoured me often made me a witnefs of his benevolence, and a judge of his heart.

CHAP.

## CHAP. VI.

### *Character of the reigning Emperor.*

SIDI Mahomet, endowed with penetration and judgement, would have been susceptible of all the high qualities necessary to govern men, had education brought to perfection those gifts which nature had bestowed. His age is somewhere about seventy six *, his heighth five feet eight inches

* It is not customary among the Moors to register the birth of children, not even that of princes; their age is remembered by certain accidents, or events, which the parents commit to memory. A Moor very naturally says, he was born in the dry summer, the wet winter, or mentions any other similar accident.

The reigning Emperor was at Mecca, in 1727, when Muley Ishmael died; he was not then married, and, as he has always perfectly remembered this journey, it may well be supposed he was at that time about sixteen or eighteen, and

inches, his ſymmetry tolerable; he ſquints a little, which gives his aſpect ſome ſeverity; his conſtitution being naturally ſtrong, and his mode of life ſober and frugal, his body is become very capable of ſupporting the fatigue of a life ſo laborious as the government of this empire requires. He is tolerably eaſy of acceſs; foreigners he receives with politeneſs, and converſes with them willingly; but the cool, or warm, reception he gives, alike, are directed by ſome motive of perſonal intereſt. His favour is not conſtant, but varies according as ſuch like intereſted ſenſations vary.

However marked the attachment of Sidi Mahomet to riches may have been, he has ſeldom employed thoſe means, for the accumulation of them, which violence or cruelty might have ſuggeſted. This Emperor will not leave ſo rich a treaſury at his deceaſe as his love for œconomy might fore-

and that he muſt have been born in or near the year 1710. This is the mode I have taken to calculate his age, in which I am confirmed by the oldeſt people in the country.

bode,

bode, and that becaufe his reign has been expofed to heavy expences; his empire, gradually exhaufted, has no longer in itfelf the fame refources. Independent of the heavy fums expended on the fiege of Mazagan, that of Melilla, and the maintenance of his forces, Sidi Mahomet has alfo built towns and fortreffes, mofques and public markets, exclufive of his palaces, which he has embellifhed. He likewife purchafed, in Malta and the Italian ftates, numerous Mahometan flaves, in 1782, the greateft part of whom were not his fubjects; and he has further fent to Conftantinople, in 1784, more than four million of livres, (or a hundred and fixty-fix thoufand pounds) which it is fuppofed he, out of refpect to his religion, either appropriated to the temple of Mecca or the defence of the Ottoman empire, for which, knowing the ambition of its neighbours, he feems to have fome fears.

Covetous as he appears to have been of wealth, Sidi Mahomet will leave little to pofterity, except thefe monuments of his devotion, his charity, and his precaution.

More

More humane, more acceſſible, and leſs exigent than his anceſtors, Sidi Mahomet has ever treated the Chriſtians, whom the fate of war has put into his power, with compaſſion, and on ſome among them he has beſtowed marks of his confidence. After the taking of Mazagan, he ſent thirty-eight ſlaves to the Grand Maſter of the knights of Malta, who were ſubjects of the Grand Duke of Tuſcany, and the Grand Maſter returned a like number of Moors.

Quick and penetrating, this Emperor has often made very juſt obſervations on the characters of nations, judging by the ſlaves whom he had in his poſſeſſion, and who happened to be about his perſon. Perceiving how active the French were in their labours, he choſe them in preference for the execution of any ſudden project; obſerving, at the ſame time, that they were reſtleſs and turbulent, he held it neceſſary they ſhould be employed, that they might neither quarrel among themſelves nor with the other ſlaves. It cannot be ſaid that, under his government, ſlaves have been worked

worked to exceſs; it will likewiſe be perceived that monarchs, who number the ranſom of ſlaves as one part of their revenues, have an intereſt in their preſervation.

During thirty years that Sidi Mahomet has ſat on the throne, his reign has been happy. It would be raſh to propheſy what ſhall happen after his death: although it be true that ſimilar cauſes will produce ſimilar effects, we muſt not always judge of the future by the paſt; the ſmalleſt difference of circumſtances, either in the times, or the characters of thoſe men who head inſurrections, will change the ſtate of things, and decide on the deſtiny of nations. Nevertheleſs, when we behold in Morocco a multitude of princes, each deſirous of governing, each having nearly an equal claim to govern, it ſhould ſeem that like diſſentions may well again be feared, and like revolutious to thoſe which, under preceding reigns, ſo often have rent this empire.

The

The ſucceſſion is not fixed in Morocco, either by law or cuſtom, but depends entirely on concurring accidents. It is well underſtood, among the Moors, that the eldeſt ſon ought to inherit the crown, becauſe that his experience renders him the moſt proper to govern; but, as there is no determinate law on this head, and as there is neither divan nor council in the empire to deliberate on affairs of ſtate, the election of the Emperor depends entirely on chance, on the character of the candidates, the opinion of the people, the influence of the ſoldiery, the ſupport of the provinces, and moſt particularly on the poſſeſſion of the treaſury. He who has money may have ſoldiers, and he who has ſoldiers can make himſelf feared.

We have ſeen that, under Muley Abdallah, one province and one faction would elect this ſovereign, another that; and like anarchy may well be expected, whenever there are a great number of candidates for the throne; at leaſt, unleſs the governors of provinces ſhould all unite to protect one alone. This is a thing moſt difficult to be accom-

accompliſhed, among the Moors, where men do nothing, and where Providence regulates all.

Of ten or twelve male children, to whom the Emperor is father, there are ſeveral who are capable of government; nor can I doubt but that, informed as they muſt be of former revolutions, they all aſpire with equal confidence to that crown to which birth, the voice of the people, or a concatenation of incidents, may give each an equal right.

CHAP.

## CHAP. VII.

### *Of the commercial intercourſe between the Empire of Morocco and the nations of Europe.*

WHEN the ſpirit of induſtry began to effect a change in Europe, in the power of kingdoms, and the manners of their inhabitants, monarchs felt the neceſſity of naval armaments, and, by their maritime forces, to ſecure to their ſubjects the progreſs of their commerce, and the freedom of the ſeas.

Before the diſcovery of the rout to the Eaſt Indies, round the Cape of Good Hope, and even for ſome time after, Europe had no communication with Aſia, except by the Mediterranean, and over this ſea a conſiderable trade was carried on through Spain,

France,

France, Italy, the Levant, and the northern ſhores of Africa, which latter, even at that time, were invaded by bands of freebooters. Tripoli, Tunis, Algiers, Morocco, uſurped by multitudes of ſoldiers, whom religion had armed, enemies as they were of the Chriſtian religion, from bigotry, became ſtill more ſo from intereſt; their inhabitants were poor, little addicted to labour, without commerce, pirates from inclination and neceſſity, and had no means of becoming of ſome importance, except by the licentiouſneſs of freebooting.

Europe, which had formerly been armed againſt theſe common enemies by the zeal of religion, preſently found itſelf divided in its own political intereſts. Nations, ambitious of power and of wealth, individually employed by the efforts of induſtry, and the barter of their products, conſulted only their individual conveniency, and, in the hope of acquiring a greater aſcendancy in commercial and maritime affairs, determined to make treaties with theſe uſurpers of the ſhores of Africa; which treaties

have

have been more or leſs obſerved, according to the opinion entertained of their reſpective force, and the reciprocity of their intereſts.

Such were the motives, ſuch the principles, of friendſhip, between the powers of Europe and the regencies of Barbary. The rivality, or the feebleneſs, of ſuch commercial nations, occaſioned theſe regencies afterward to acquire thoſe means of power, the diſadvantage and incumbrance of which have ſince been ſo often felt; the conditions by which their friendſhip muſt be purchaſed have imperceptibly become more humiliating, more intolerable, and leſs ſtable.

It was not ſo much for the promotion of trade, on the northern ſhores of Africa, as to favour the growth of maritime power, and commerce in a different channel, that the nations of Europe have entered into theſe friendly treaties with the Barbary regencies, and the empire of Morocco. This empire itſelf, though rich in its native products, is not capable of any extenſive trade; the inſtability of its laws is an ob-

 ſtacle

ftacle to the induftry of its inhabitants, and to the confidence of foreigners. Neither are the wants of the Moors multiplied by their mode of education, or by the temperature of a climate where nature requires but little; and imaginary wants have been further fuppreffed by government, which, by depriving the people of the means of luxury, muft neceffarily enfeeble the activity of commerce, of which luxury is the Primum Mobile.

Thus, fome trifling barter excepted, the fafety of the fea has been the caufe why the nations of Europe have made treaties with the empire of Morocco. I fhall fpeak more particularly of thefe their treaties, and their interefts, according to the priority of their dates, and fhall beftow a feparate chapter on thofe that relate to France.

England is the firft power which concluded treaties of friendfhip and commerce with the Emperors of Morocco. Being in poffeffion of Tangiers, which had been ceded to her by Portugal in 1662, fhe oc-

casionally felt those inconveniences that result from the turbulency of the Moors, which she overlooked, and even gave up certain points, that she might, with the greater ease, maintain the garrison of that town, which, because of its distance, at length became a burthen to the nation.

England having, even at that time, acquired an extensive foreign commerce, she made propositions of peace to Muley Ishmael in 1675, which the caprices and contradictions of that Emperor rendered ineffectual. A truce, however, was concluded for four years in 1681, but was broken before the term expired; the Moors pretended that the peace had only related to the garrison of Tangiers, and did not extend to the protection of the British flag.

A distinction like this, worthy an Empire where treachery is native, gave birth to explanations. Muley Ishmael sent ambassadors to London at the commencement of the present century. This was a new pretext for new presents, and the treaty of peace was, at length, renewed under George

George I. After the death of Muley Ishmael this treaty was confirmed, and renewed, in 1728, by Muley Achmet Daiby, and a little time after by Muley Abdallah.

The immense navigation and trade of the English gave them sufficient motives to make peace with the Emperor of Morocco; and they had further a political reason, which was, to re-victual, with fresh provisions, their garrison of Gibraltar with facility, which place has been under their government from the beginning of the present century. Sidi Mahomet, more intelligent than his predecessors, has derived all possible profit from this circumstance; and the English nation, haughty, jealous, and ever ready to take offence, has continued, and still continues, to overlook all that inequality of conduct to which the spirit of avarice gives birth, on the part of the court of Morocco. The English have long maintained a trade on the coast of that empire, where they sell coarse cloths, serges, linens, pewter, lead, mercer's commodities, and the iron which their ships bring from Biscay.

They receive in return ſometimes oils, gums, wax, elephants-teeth, and have often ſent, in French bottoms, to Marſeilles, oils, raw hides, and wool, the conſumption of which is greater in our ſouthern provinces than among the more northern nations.

They have alſo exported a number of Mules to North America; but the diſmemberment of that part of their dominions has greatly decreaſed their trade with Morocco, which before was not very conſiderable. England can only have a confined trade with Morocco, not having a ſufficient market for the commodities ſhe returns. The commercial relations which exiſt between kingdoms always depend on their mutual wants, and the facility with which barter can be made to mutual advantage.

In 1732 an ambaſſador was ſent by Muley Abdallah into Holland, and the republic then made its peace with that Emperor; but the revolutions by which his reign was diſturbed gave but little ſtability to the treaty. Holland was the firſt power which renewed

renewed treaties of peace with Sidi Mahomet, who then was only prince and governor of Saffi, but who, being the ſole heir of the empire, had arrogated to himſelf the chief part of the authority. Independent of the ſafety of navigation, Holland had further a political motive, which was early to make peace with the Emperor, that ſhe might the better profit by her neutrality during the war of 1755.

Having been informed that this republic treated the regency of Algiers with greater generoſity than himſelf, Sidi Mahomet complained of the States General; and, notwithſtanding the compliance that was ſhewn, the Emperor declared war againſt the Dutch toward the end of 1774, pretending that an extraordinary preſent, which they had ſent him, and which he kept, was not ſufficiently magnificent.

The republic ſent numerous veſſels into the Straits for the protection of trade and navigation; few of them appeared upon the coaſt, and that ſo ſeldom that the corſairs of Morocco took three Dutch ſhips,

two of them as they left the port of San Lucar, within ſight of Cadiz. Theſe advantages were counterbalanced by the loſſes of the Emperor of Morocco. A Dutch frigate, which did but begin to chace two Corſairs of Sallee, cauſed them to be ſhipwrecked, even without following them, the one at the entrance of the river of Laracha, and the other at the mouth of that of Mamora. Holland renewed the peace in 1778, was more generous in her gifts, and, if ſo ſhe ſhall pleaſe, may continue it by the like means.

Holland carries on a certain trade with the coaſt of Morocco, and cuſtom has almoſt rendered her importations neceſſary. She there vends quantities of Sileſian linens, called platillas, many of the coarſe linens of the Baltic, and others, ſome few ſpices, drugs, tea, timber, iron of Biſcay, and quantities of the cutlery and mercery wares of Germany.

Holland receives from the coaſt of Morocco, in return, ſometimes oils, wax, gums, and elephants-teeth; but, as thoſe returns,

returns, which suit the Dutch merchants, are insufficient to balance the quantity of merchandize they send thither, they have almost continually profited by the facility with which they can run for the French ports, to send oils to Marseilles, wools, and raw hides, which there find a readier sale than in the north. Had not Holland this liberty, she would imperceptibly have been obliged to renounce a trade, which must have become disadvantageous, when she could no longer freight her ships by barter, or be paid in money.

The court of Denmark began to negotiate with Sidi Mahomet in 1755. That kingdom is so distant from Morocco that the Danish ministry had not any just ideas concerning the government of this empire. Deceived by a Jew, who was the instrument and interpreter of the negotiations of Denmark, she supposed she might, without impediment, build a fortress at Santa Cruz, that she might there protect a mercantile settlement, which she intended to establish. The Jew agent disguised the intentions of the court of Denmark;

nor was there any knowledge in Morocco of the intended fort, till the materials for building it were landed. The Emperor, offended at seeing himself treated like the princes of Senegal, imprisoned the ambassador of Denmark, and his retinue, pretending he would treat them as slaves. Some time was necessary to rectify this mistake. Denmark again undertook to negotiate in 1757, a ransom was agreed upon, new presents were made, and a new peace concluded.

The late king of Denmark, occupied by commercial projects, gave his consent at that time for the forming of a royal African company, which, on paying an annual tribute of fifty thousand piastres, obtained from the Emperor of Morocco the exclusive commerce of his coast, for the term of ten years, in the ports of Sallee and of Saffi, where two mercantile settlements were made. The oppressions and embarrassments which this monopoly incited, the expences occasioned by the forming of these establishments, and the want of œconomy in some foreign directors, to whom the ad-

ministration

ministration of the company's affairs were confided, rendered this attempt unsuccessful. The monopoly extended only to the ports of Saffi and Sallee, the trade of which declined in consequence of other establishments, at the ports of Mogodor and Laracha, whither, by lessening the duties of the customs, the Emperor had drawn the chief products of his domains, which freighted the returning European ships.

This company, beside, were merely concerned in a carrying trade, as uncertain in its success as ill judged in its principles. Denmark itself contains no product necessary for the coast of Morocco, nor can the products of that empire find any market in Denmark; so that this company was but a clog upon the industry of the intermediate nations, and could derive no other advantage than that of affording employment to some Danish ships, which often arrived on the coast of Morocco loaded, and returned empty back. The Danish African company soon saw its capital sunk by ill-timed speculations, and by the gifts which the compli-

compliance of its directors, and the necessity of satisfying the Emperor, did but multiply.

This company continued busied in the liquidation of its debts, after the accession of Christian VII. to the throne of Denmark; it was suppressed in 1767, at which time the court of Denmark freed itself from the annual burthen of fifty thousand piastres, a price paid for a monoply, which the royal African company ought to have enjoyed, but did not. The Danes only, however, could obtain the continuation of peace by annually paying the sum of twenty-five thousand piastres. Denmark has not itself any direct trade with that coast.

The Swedes concluded peace with the Emperor of Morocco in 1763. The present Sweden sent consisted of cannon, masts, and timber; she likewise agreed to make an annual present of twenty-thousand piastres, which she meant to pay in her own native products, but which the Emperor insisted on receiving in ready money. In the year 1771, Gustavus III., who then ascended

aſcended the throne of Sweden, refuſed all kind of tribute, reſerving to himſelf the liberty of making voluntary preſents, without any determinate time or value. It was, at length, agreed, as a means of continuing the former good underſtanding between the courts, that the king of Sweden ſhould ſend an ambaſſador and a preſent once in two years, to the Emperor of Morocco. The Swedes have no commercial intercourſe with this empire.

The republic of Venice made peace with the Emperor of Morocco in 1765. She ſent a very handſome preſent in money, and agreed to pay an annual tribute of about a hundred thouſand livres, (or upward of four thouſand pounds.) This republic having treated the regency of Algiers ſtill more liberally, the Emperor was offended at the diſtinction, and ſent a Genoeſe, who was in his ſervice, to Venice to complain. His envoy having been received with great coolneſs by the Senate, and having returned with an anſwer that did not ſatisfy Sidi Mahomet, he gave further tokens of his diſcontent to the republic in

1780,

1780, and, inventing certain imputations, obliged the Venetian conſul to depart from his ſtates; but the republic having acquieſced in the wiſhes of the Emperor, in 1781, the conſul returned, and was very favourably received at the court of Morocco. The republic of Venice has no commercial intercourſe with this empire, and therefore, like the courts of Denmark and Sweden, pays this tribute ſolely for the ſafety of navigation.

The court of Spain, as well as that of France, made peace with the Emperor of of Morocco in 1767. Sidi Mahomet was the firſt to ſend an ambaſſador to Spain, and affected to give this kingdom ſo much the preference that the confidence placed in his profeſſions were too great. After having received very high proofs of the generoſity of the court of Spain, and having, in ſome meaſure, diſpoſed of his arſenals for the repair of her ſhips, this monarch took occaſion to deſtroy the good harmony which then exiſted between the two powers, without breaking the peace, which, according to him, was merely confined

fined to the liberty of navigation. He marched with an army, about the end of 1774, to lay siege to Melilla, which place, instead of defending, he supposed Spain would abandon.

This proceeding, contrary to the faith of treaties, was the occasion of a rupture, between the court of Spain and that of Morocco. The Moor, having failed in his enterprize, took every possible means to re-establish peace; but the court of Madrid, deeply resenting his conduct, deferred concluding any treaty, and was satisfied with remaining in a kind of truce.

The quarrel between France and England having changed the political situation of Europe, the court of Spain thought that a favourable moment to treat with the Emperor of Morocco; and Sidi Mahomet renewed peace, in 1780, by the mediation of his ambassador, Ben-Otman, eagerly acquiescing in whatever the Spanish court demanded. The Emperor not only consented to refuse revictualing the garrison of Gibraltar, the siege of which was meditated

tated by Spain, but the Spaniards were, in a manner, masters of Tangiers, where they victualed their army, and which place served as an asylum to such of their ships as were stationed near the Straits. Their posts of observation beyond the castle, and as far as Cape Spartel, were so well regulated, that their signals from place to place communicated along the whole coast of Andalusia.

Their can be no continued trade between the coast of Spain and that of Morocco, for the corn trade, which varies according to circumstances and seasons, must only be considered as casual. The products of Morocco, their provisions excepted, are wholly useless in Spain; nor does Spain itself afford many articles of consumption for Morocco, cochineal excepted, which is used to dye Morocco leather; and the exclusive trade in which the Emperor has reserved to himself. The iron of Biscay, and the Barcelona handkerchiefs, which are in general use, might, indeed, be imported, but foreign nations buy up the first in exchange for their several products, and

and the trade in the second is not of sufficient extent to maintain a continual intercourse.

For some years after the peace, conluded in 1767, the harvests having failed in Spain, the Spaniards bought up considerable quantities of wheat and barley on the coast of Morocco. This, however, was a forced trade, and not reciprocal; they took their money thither to buy provisions, poultry, and fruits, wherewith to supply Andalusia, where, because of the heat of the climate, men are little inclined to labour, and where the inequality of the seasons renders their harvests very uncertain.

Politically considered, this trade was only advantageous to the Emperor of Morocco, since Spain was not only dependent on him for supplies, but that, likewise, the facility with which these supplies were obtained did but further increase the indolence of the farmers of Andalusia. Hence resulted a great circulation of piastres in the empire of Morocco, and, perhaps, two million of

livres (or upward of eighty thousand pounds sterling) of increase to the revenue. Between the years 1770 and 1774, Spain transported from Morocco quantities of wheat and barley; but she again rendered the very same aid to Morocco, from 1779 to 1781, when a part of that empire was afflicted by famine.

In February, 1769, the court of Portugal lost the town of Mazagan, on the western side of Morocco, which it had preserved, and where the arms and the commerce of Portugal were so eminently successful at the beginning of the sixteenth century. This town, situated in the centre of a fertile province, clandestinely supplied Portugal with some provisions and cattle. After the loss of Mazagan, the court of Lisbon, desirous of possessing its former resources, and wishing to acquire greater safety for its flag and guard its ships from the corsairs of Morocco, to which the peace between Spain and Morocco gave more frequent opportunities of approach to the coast of Portugal, thought proper, in 1773, to conclude a treaty with the Emperor.

peror. There is no continued trade between Portugal and Morocco, and the intercourſe of the two courts is ſimply confined to teſtimonies of friendſhip. The Emperor of Morocco ſends a few horſes, and many compliments, to the court of Liſbon, which returns demonſtrations of good will ſomewhat more ſubſtantial.

Toward the end of the year 1782, Sidi Mahomet ſent an ambaſſador into Tuſcany, who, in 1783, departed thence for Vienna to conclude a peace with both theſe courts; but the trade between Morocco and theſe nations is only accidental, and the treaty has no other utility than that of the ſafety of navigation for Tuſcan and Imperial ſhips, and of thus giving a greater degree of ſtability to commerce, which theſe powers wiſh to encourage throughout their ſtates.

The republic of Genoa enjoys only a kind of truce with the empire of Morocco, which is wholly unſupported by any treaty. A Jew ſubject of Morocco, whoſe name was Ben-Amor, made a voyage to Genoa

by order of his maſter, and treated with a noble Genoeſe concerning commercial connections with the Emperor, who on this occaſion, voluntarily made very great advances. The ſenator formed a commercial company, and ſent his agents, in 1769, with ſplendid preſents, and a numerous train. This company enjoyed a momentary fame, and afterward as ſuddenly declined. It did but reſemble a flaſh of lightning in a clouded and gloomy night.

The Emperor of Morocco, thus at peace with the principal commercial nations, and deſirous of being ſo with all the Chriſtian powers, hoping thereby to extend the commerce of his empire, and to profit by the rival ſpirit of nations, publicly manifeſted, by letters, in 1777, "That he granted "entire liberty to all ſhips to trade with, "and enter, his ports, being deſirous of "peace with the whole world." This general notice produced no effect, either becauſe thoſe nations which it moſt intereſted had not ſufficient confidence in his promiſes, or becauſe they wanted ſuch products and reſources as were neceſſary to maintain

maintain a trade with the coast of Morocco.

Notwithstanding that the Emperor had declared he held himself to be at peace with all Europe, he nevertheless pronounced a ship from Ragusa, taken by one of his corsairs, in 1779, a legal capture. The cargo, worth more than a hundred thousand livres, (or upward of four thousand pounds) was the property of the Maltese, and was confiscated; and yet, from some inexplicable caprice, the Maltese sailors were restored to their freedom, while those of Ragusa were made slaves.

The dispute this occasioned, and which was rendered still more intricate by a diversity of interests, was very tedious, and liable to numerous incongruities. The Ottoman Porte claimed the sailors of Ragusa as its vassals, and by the same title protected the freedom of the Ragusan flag. The dispatches of the Porte, written in the Turkish language, although the Moors could not read them, were not received with the less deference; the Ragusan sailors,

lors, detained in ſlavery, were reſtored to the Envoy of the republic, and the Emperor dictated ſuch terms of peace as Raguſa could neither accept nor durſt refuſe. The ſuſpence and inconveniences that aroſe gave occaſion to new explanations, which did not ſilence the fears of the Senate of Raguſa; a ſtate ſo feeble, and in ſo precarious a ſituation, can enjoy but little certainty.

The United States of North America, after ſecuring their independence by wiſe laws, and concluding various commercial treaties with the powers of Europe, were further deſirous of adding new means of advantage, and increaſe, to their induſtry and navigation. In conſequence of this, they, during the year 1786, profiting by the pacific diſpoſition which the Emperor of Morocco announced to all commercial nations, concluded a treaty of peace with this monarch.

CHAP.

## CHAP. VIII.

*Of the commercial intercourſe between the kingdom of France, and the empire of Morocco.*

IN the beginning of the preſent century, France was poſſeſſed of colonies, manufactures, mercantile eſtabliſhments, in foreign nations, and a maritime commerce, which, in its birth, betokened the extent of which it was ſuſceptible, from national induſtry, and the vigilance of the miniſtry; her navigation began to appear reſpectable, in conſequence of her naval forces, under the reign of Louis XIV.; but the wars ſhe was obliged to maintain, toward the concluſion of this reign, greatly retarded the progreſs of her foreign trade.

So rapid was the growth of this trade, under the following reign, that her rivals, jealous of the empire of the sea, took umbrage at her maritime prosperity. The late success of her arms has effaced the remembrance of those humiliations to which she was subjected, in consequence of the war of 1756; and the influence which this success ought naturally to acquire should, each returning day, give new strength to her commerce.

The first efforts of France to extend her navigation incited the cupidity of the regencies of Barbary, that were in the neighbourhood of her southern ports. After having several times chastised their temerity, France, at length, made peace with Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli. She also held momentary negotiations with Muley Ishmael, but found no possible means of fixing the wavering temper of that Emperor, and of obviating those difficulties which might well be feared from his want of good faith. This monarch being dead, the empire of Morocco, become the prey of rebellions, was continually changing its

its maſters. Its ports, alſo, were under the government of particular and local laws, and the difficulties of treaties of peace were increaſed, becauſe that, during a ſtate of ſuch anarchy, it was impoſſible to aſſign any duration to ſuch treaties.

Theſe obſtacles were removed when Sidi Mahomet aſcended the throne, and France profited by the diſpoſitions of this Emperor to enter on new negotiations; but they were ſubject to ſo much incertitude, and ſo many variations, that, in order ultimately to bring the Moor to a firm determination, ſhe thought proper, in 1765, to ſend a ſquadron, of one ſhip of the line, eight frigates, three zebecks, one bark, and two bomb ketches, to the weſtern coaſt of Morocco. This ſquadron, of greater force than was neceſſary, was impeded by a concatenation of circumſtances, which were not ſufficiently foreſeen, becauſe a ſufficient knowledge of the coaſt had not been obtained. The bomb ketches played upon Rabat and Sallee with little ſucceſs. The ſquadron next proceeded to Laracha; the frigates occaſioned a corſair to be

ſtranded upon the coaſt, and the ſmaller veſſels of the ſquadron, after being detained two or three nights by a diverſity of opinions among the captains, and the difficulties of the paſſage, at length entered the river of Laracha, and there burned a ſhip.

This advantage was balanced by the loſs of many brave men. Obliged, in the river, to give battle to a multitude of Mooriſh ſoldiers, who had had time to aſſemble, becauſe of the delays to which this expedition had been ſubjected, the French loſt near two hundred men on that occaſion, forty-five of whom were made ſlaves, without enumerating the wounded. But this loſs was no ſufficient counterpoiſe to that of the Emperor of Morooco, many of whoſe ſoldiers alſo fell. This monarch was enabled to judge, by the valorous defence of the French, that, on ſome future opportunity, this valour might be more ſucceſsful, and he propoſed a ſuſpenſion of arms. A truce was, at length, agreed on, and this truce was prolonged that reciprocal explanation might be more preciſe. The preliminaries of peace were definitively

tively concluded toward the end of the year 1766, by the intervention of the Sieur Jean Jacques Salva, a French merchant, ſettled at Saffi.

In the ſpring of 1767, the Comte de Breugnon, a captain in the navy, was appointed ambaſſador to conclude the peace, and ſailed to Saffi with a ſquadron under his command. The Comte took with him a preſent, worthy of the magnificence of his monarch, for the Emperor of Morocco. The French flag was ſaluted at Saffi by the whole artillery of the caſtle ; and the ambaſſador met, on ſhore, and during the reſt of his voyage, the moſt diſtinguiſhed reception, according to the cuſtom of thoſe people.

France, however, had proof that, though the character of a nation may vary according to circumſtances, in reality it is ever the ſame. At the very moment when the Moors made thoſe warm profeſſions, which an intereſted court will ever teſtify for its new friends, a corſair of the Emperor took three French merchant ſhips in the

the Straits, which, though there was no difficulty in proving the injury, were sometime before they were restored. The Emperor disclaimed this act of hostility, and the corsair was condemned never to sail more. The signing of the peace was itself delayed, because that explanations were necessary, and the preliminaries, which had been agreed on between the two courts, and sent to Versailles, written in Arabic, to be signed, were laid aside: proceedings were all again to be begun, and the treaty, concerning which the two powers had been mutually agreed, was once more to be discussed, and almost wholly altered.

Previous to the peace between France and Morocco, the French had two mercantile establishments settled there on the faith of asylum. After the peace their mercantile houses became numerous. This was the error of the French; there were too many of them for the trade, and their numbers were not only injurious to their own interests but, probably, excited the avarice of the Emperor, who, estimating the

the advantages of their trade by their eagernefs, was defirous it might become more profitable to himfelf, and therefore impofed heavier duties. The trade then began to decline ; merchants were difcouraged by thefe new fhackles, by rules which defpotifm prefcribed, by the neceffity of conforming to thefe rules, by the removal of their trade from one port to another, and by all the various means which the abufe of power, the fpirit of avarice, and the convenience of the moment, could fuggeft.

France, perhaps, is the only nation which is capable to maintain an uninterrupted trade with the empire of Morocco, mutually beneficial. She is enabled herfelf to fupply all the wants of that empire, and the products of Morocco find at Marfeilles a more certain fale than at any other port. According to the beft and moft exact information, it is demonftrated that her trade, on the coaft of Morocco, might not only become capable of increafe, but that the reciprocal conveniences, which muft refult to the two powers by the barter of their

their refpective products, ought to be confidered as a political motive for the mutual maintenance of peace.

If France, by living in good harmony with Morocco, fhould unite to the benefits of commerce that of the fafety of her flag, Morocco would, on her part, acquire a very effential advantage from this connection, by the great facility with which fhe could vend her native products, which conftitute the fole wealth of nations, and the ultimate refources of a ftate. It muft be acknowledged that, at firft, it would not be poffible to give any degree of ftability to this trade, becaufe of the difficulty there muft be of fixing the ideas of a defpot, whofe motives all originate in momentary conveniences, on any determinate point. This, however, may be remedied in time; wants and circumftances every where prefcribe laws, and every where, foon or late, teach men the neceffity of conforming to thefe laws.

France would infenfibly and exclufively engrofs the trade of Morocco, if, profiting by

by her advantages, ſhe ſhould ſubject that trade to the ſame laws which have ſo ſucceſsfully procured her the excluſive trade of the Levant, and the republics of Barbary. Endeavours at improvement, and, perhaps, the ſpirit of innovation, have cauſed the voice of freedom to raiſe itſelf againſt prohibitory laws. Such laws may be wrong, in particular caſes; but the application of this rule ſhould not be univerſal; they may, in general, be beneficial to a nation, which, poſſeſſed of native products and colonies, having a maritime force to preſerve, manufacturers to encourage, and multitudes of workmen to employ, is intereſted to procure to itſelf, excluſively, ſuch branches of commerce as may beſt obtain theſe ends. She would act contrary to her intereſts, were ſhe to ſuffer her rivals to become the carriers of her products, while they refuſe her a ſimilar and reciprocal freedom.

The French vend, on the coaſt of Morocco, much of the linnen of Brittany, and of other places, ſome raw ſilk for the manufactures of Fez, unſpun cotton, Biſcay iron, common papers, mercery goods, ſome

few

ſilks, cloths, ſugars, and coffee, and as much ſulphur as the Emperor requires, the trade in which he has reſerved to himſelf.

They receive in exchange, wool, oil, raw hides, wax, gums, and elephants' teeth. The balance, being againſt France, is paid in Spaniſh piaſtres, or in merchandize brought from ſome foreign nations; yet we ought not to ſuppoſe the trade of Morocco diſadvantageous to France, ſince ſhe does not ſend her ſhips thither for objects of luxury, but ſupplies neceſſary to her manufactures, and ſuch as may animate national induſtry, by renewing the materials of exportation, and procuring the commodities of trade and commerce.

After having explained the commercial intercourſe of the European nations with the empire of Morocco, enumerated what ſhackles are impoſed by government, and what reſult from local circumſtances, I think it proper to ſpeak a word concerning the cuſtom which the Emperors of Morocco have in ſuffering the ſhips of nations, with whom they

are at war, to trade to their coaſt. This political toleration appears to do honour to theſe monarchs; but the abſurdity of the Europeans, in making uſe of this permiſſion, is not the leſs evident, ſince Morocco enjoys the double advantage of trade and of piracy.

Neither can it be ſaid Europe, in this reſpect, has a like advantage, for there is the following difference. The empire of Morocco cannot ſupply its own wants, yet has the balance in its favour, by its commerce with Europe; therefore it grants the freedom of its ports only from neceſſity, and that it may diſencumber itſelf of products, for which it has no conſumption, and receive others, of which it is in abſolute need. Hence, it would be much wiſer, were the European nations, eſpecially thoſe that find the quickeſt market for the products of Morocco, to renounce this freedom, and to avail themſelves of the neceſſity of that empire to barter its commodities, and thereby oblige it to remain quiet. For one nation to ſupply another, with which it is at war, and to carry on a trade beneficial

to

to that other, is, by fair deduction, to pay tribute, without enjoying the advantages of peace.

## CHAP. IX.

*Custom-house duties, coins, weights, and measures.*

THE duties, coins, weights, and measures, in Morocco, are almost as variable as the opinion of the Emperor; yet, notwithstanding this fluctuation, I have thought proper to terminate my observations, on what concerns this empire, by giving an abstract of their present state.

The duties of exportation and importation have been much altered. Those of importation, which are paid in effects, and not in money, have risen from eight to fifteen per cent., iron excepted, which pays the fourth, or the third, of its value. Those of exportation, which I have several times

 seen

ſeen raiſed, are entirely arbitrary; the articles do not each pay in the ſame proportion. The duties on ſome amount to as much as the prime-coſt.

Merchant ſhips are ſubjected to an anchorage duty, which has alſo undergone many variations; neither is this duty the ſame in all the ports of the coaſt, which ports do not all equally enjoy the freedom of trade and navigation.

The coins, which are current over the coaſt of Morocco, are thoſe of the Emperor, and thoſe of Spain. The coins of the Emperor are in gold, ſilver, and copper. Their ſeveral values are not fixed, but the variations, to which they are ſubject, do not there influence the price of proviſions and goods, as they would in Europe, where money is properly conſidered only as the ſymbol of wealth.

The gold ducat, which is very ſcarce, and therefore little in circulation, is worth fifteen ounces, which correſponds to ten

French

French livres, or eight and four pence English.

The silver money is the current ducat, the ounce, and the blanquil. The current ducat is worth ten ounces, the ounce four blanquils, and the blanquil twenty-four flus. The flus is the only current copper coin. The value of the blanquil is three sous four deniers of France, or nearly seven farthings English; consequently the ounce is worth thirteen sous four deniers, or six pence three farthings, and the ducat six livres thirteen sous four deniers, or five shillings and six pence three farthings*. The Spanish piastre is current in trade, and in general its value is fixed; it may, however, vary according to the convenience of the Emperor, and the interest he may have to render piastres scarce or common.

The weights, by which they buy and sell in Morocco, are equivalent to the weights

* The English is the third part of a farthing above the exact estimate in all these three cases. T.

of Paris; that is to ſay, to the *Poids de marc*, or pound of ſixteen ounces; the ſubdiviſions of which are, at both places, the ſame. Merchandize is in general ſold by the quintal of one hundred pounds; but ſome commodities are ſold by the great quintal, or one hundred and fifty pounds.

Corn is meaſured, after different manners, along the coaſt of Morocco. In the ſouthern provinces, known by the name of the kingdom of Morocco, wheat is ſold by the Garara and the Mood, which is the modus of the ancients, whence the French have derived their Muid. The garara contains forty mood, and the mood weighs from eighteen to twenty pounds; hence the garara muſt be nearly eight hundred weight. In the kingdom of Fez, from Sallee to the north, corn is ſold by the Saffa, the Sahah, and the Mood. Four mood make one ſahah, and ſixty mood one ſaffa; hence, the mood weighing from eighteen to twenty pounds, the weight of the ſaffa muſt be twelve quintals. Three ſahah, or twelve mood, are nearly equivalent to the meaſure of Marſeilles, called the

 *charge*,

*charge*, which alſo nearly correſponds to the Setier of Paris. It is neceſſary to obſerve that the corn meaſures are liable to be varied, according to the will of the Emperor.

The meaſure by which cloths, linen, and woollen, are ſold, is called coode, which is the cubit of the ancients. The coode, which is in uſe throughout all the empire, and which never varies, contains nineteen inches four lines. There are forty-four inches in a French ell, conſequently two coodes and a quarter are equal to an ell, the fraction of half an inch excepted.

THE END.

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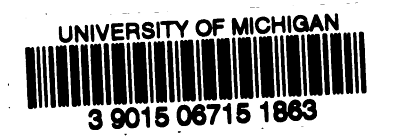
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ERRATUM.

Vol. I. page 269, line 5, for *tar*, read *pitch*.


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